

# OLD ENGLAND for Ever,

R O R,

## SPANISH Cruelty display'd;

W H E R E I N

The *Spaniards* Right to *AMERICA*  
is impartially Examined and found Defective; their Pretensions founded in Blood, supported by Cruelty, and continued by Oppression.

I. A Compleat History of *America* from the first Discovery thereof to the present Time; with an Account of its antient Inhabitants, and the shocking and tragical Methods used by the *Spaniards* to deprive them of their Country, and possess themselves of their rich Mines, &c.

II. *Great Britain's* Right to *America* prior to that of *Spain*, fully proved to be some Hundred Years before *Christopher Columbus* conducted the *Spaniards* thither.

III. The *Spaniards* inveterate Hatred of the *English*; their constant Treachery; Perfidy, and unfair Practices in all their Dealings with them, proved to be the Effect of their Jealousy; that *Britain* not only

rivals them in the Trade, but will one Day resume her antient Claim to that New World.  
IV. A View of the *Spanish* Trade to the *West Indies*; the Nature of the Commerce, the Trading Companies by whom it is carried on, and how far it concerns *England* to regard it in the present War.

V. *Spanish* Tyranny, exemplify'd in the intolerable Oppression and barbarous Treatment of the poor *Indians*, which is so severe and inhuman, that they would gladly become subject to the *British* Crown.

VI. Geographical Remarks on the Situation and Extent of *America*, the Strength, and Condition of the fortified Places claimed by the *Spaniards*; and also of those subject to *England*.

The Whole intended to give a clear Prospect of that remote Part of the World, which is now the SEAT of WAR; being a Treatise very proper to be read at this Time by all Well-wishers to their Country.

L O N D O N:

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# PREFACE.

**T**HAT Pride, Treachery and Cruelty have been long the distinguishing Characteristics of a Spaniard, all Nations that have had any Dealings or Concerns with that People can sufficiently testify; especially the English, against whom they have always express'd the most inveterate Hatred, and exercised the most inhuman Barbarities upon them whenever any Advantage gave them an Opportunity; nor would they have used us a jot better than they did the poor Indians, had Providence been so provok'd with our Sins as to put us into their Power: For which Reason I think it is doing my Country a Piece of Service to draw the Spaniard in his proper Colours, to shew him such as he really is, and as we shall find him whenever he shall get the upper Hand of us; for the more we know him, the more we shall be upon our Guard against him. If we have yet any Doubt of his haughty cruel Temper; if there is any  
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yet so charitable as to think he is not that Monster of Cruelty, as Mankind in general believes him to be, let such good-natur'd Christians turn their Eyes to the West Indies, and take a View of the Methods by which he made his Settlements in those remote Parts; what Rivers of innocent Blood he spilt; how many Thousands, I might say Millions, of defenceless Lives he wantonly sported away, to satiate his Thirst of Blood, to gratify his Avarice, and secure his unjust Acquisitions. It was thus he possess'd himself of the Riches of the Indies, and by Means as tyrannical has he maintained himself in them ever since.

But it may perhaps be asked, Has every Nation an equal Right to the Trade and Riches of the Indies with the Spaniards? This Question, I think, may be resolv'd by examining a little the Right and Title under which they support their Pretensions to this New World. They say, their Right is twofold; first, as it is founded on Conquest; and, secondly, on the Donation of the Pope. As to their Right by Conquest, I believe, upon Examination, it will appear as equitable as a Thief's Possession of my Goods, which he robb'd me of when I was not in a Condition to prevent it. This will be made evident, even to a Demonstration, in the following Treatise; and therefore I shall not detain  
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the Reader by entering into a Detail of Particulars here.

But then, say the Spaniards, our Right by Conquest is abundantly confirm'd by the Investiture of the Pope, who, as CHRIST'S Vicar on Earth, has a Right to give, alienate, and dispose of the Kingdoms of this World as he sees fit. But this is a Prerogative his Master never assum'd; the Devil indeed once pretended to such a Power, for which he was severely rebuk'd by our Saviour: And however such Doctrines may be abetted by Papists, those of the Protestant Perswasion laugh at them as chimerical, ridiculous and absurd. For it is not in the Power of Man, how dignify'd soever, to alter the moral and eternal Reason of Things; to make an Action just, which, by the Laws of GOD and Man, is unjust; or to vest the Property of one Man in another without an equivalent Satisfaction to the rightful Possessor; for if such Property is transferr'd by Violence or Fraud, such Transfer is a Violation of Equity, and consequently null and void in itself. No other Right have the Spaniards to the West-Indies; they invaded a People divided from them by near half the Breadth of the Globe; laid waste their Country, destroy'd Multitudes of them, possess'd themselves of their Riches and Properties, and exercised all manner of Barbarities



ties upon their Persons: But with what View? Why, to get absolute Possession of the rich Gold and Silver Mines with which their Country abounded. This is all the boasted Claim of the Spaniards to the West Indies; and yet, so jealous are they of their pretended Rights, that if an Englishman does but look into their Harbours, tis a Crime unpardonable, and no Punishment thought sufficient for such an audacious Presumption. But 'tis thought that Admiral VERNON has by this Time taught them to think more humbly of themselves, and a little better of their British Neighbours.

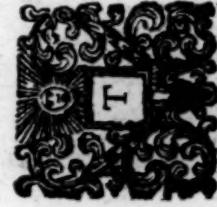




OLD ENGLAND for Ever,

O R,

*Spanish Cruelty display'd.*



HE vain and boundless Pretensions of *Spain* to that vast Continent of *America*, whose Northern Limits are yet unknown, and some of whose great Inland Tracts of the Southern Parts have never been visited by any *European*, cannot but be surprizing to all those who know upon what Footing her Pretensions are grounded; especially, when she takes upon herself to question the lawful Rights and Possessions of the *British* Nation in that Part of the World; and by an arbitrary, and unwarrantable Authority, pretends to set Limits and Boundaries in the greatest of Oceans, whereby to exclude all others from sailing  
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8 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

past the same. It therefore behoves every *Englishman* to be acquainted with the true State of those extraordinary Pretensions, and of the Right of the Crown of *Great Britain* in *America*.

IN so doing, there must necessarily be a Retrospection to the Manner of the first Discovery of that World; since, therefrom the *Spaniards* commence this their pretended sole Right to that Sea and Land. That Subject must be pursued so far as to the Reduction of *Mexico*, in order to lay open the unjustifiable Practices made Use of by the *Spaniards* to obtain the Possession of that Country; and by comparing there-with the Discoveries made, and the Possessions obtained, by the Subjects of *England* in those Parts, to demonstrate the Iniquity of the former, and the Equity of the latter; yet, a Repetition of what has been already published in History, must not be looked upon as superfluous; because, without it, there can be no Connection of the Matter intended; neither can the weak Foundation of the *Spanish* Pretensions be otherwise exposed, nor the *English* Rights properly justified. It is absolutely necessary to have Recourse to those Histories, for this further Reason: That as the Authors of them are all *Spaniards*, the Evidence will therefore be the stronger against that Nation, as being

ing of their own producing; and from that it will appear, the so much boasted Right of *Spain*, here taken Notice of, is founded upon a Possession obtained by unjust Conquests, which were attended with most execrable Murders, Cruelties, Devastations, and other Acts of Inhumanity, unbecoming one Fellow-Creature to act towards another; much less for those who professed Christianity.

It is true indeed, the Conquests made by the Children of *Israel* over the *Canaanites*, &c. were by the express Command of God, in order to punish the latter for their Idolatry, and other Wickednesses; but we see, nevertheless, that tho' the *Israelites* were for that Time made the Instruments of his Wrath; yet such their Services became no permanent Protection to themselves for the Time to come; but, on the contrary, turned to their own Destruction in the End; when, through the Fulness of their Enjoyments in that Blessed Land of Promise, which was given to them as the Fruits of their Labour, they became wanton and disobedient against their Almighty Deliverer, who had transplanted them from the House of Bondage to the fertile Plains of *Arabia*; so that, in effect, they were made the same Account of, as is a Rod, which, after chastizing a Child, is thrown into the Fire and burnt.

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10 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

It never yet appeared that the *Spaniards* could pretend to have had any Divine Inspiration or Command; nor had they any lawful Call to go and extirpate that great Nation of People in *America*; nor was it consistent with the Rules of Honour, much less of Christianity, to attack and murder such poor, naked, defenceless Creatures, as the *Indians* were, and to rob them of their Wives, and their Goods into the Bargain; a Practice which to this Day seems to be too nearly followed, when and wherever they can prevail over any one of a different Nation, especially the *Englifs*, against whom they have all along preserved an irreconcilable Animosity, as shall presently appear, from the many Instances of their Cruelty towards them. But, first, let this Priority of Right, which they pretend to have to the Possession of all *America* before any other *Europeans*, be inspected and considered, from the Time of the first Discovery of that Part of the World by *Cristopher Columbus*, commonly called *Columbus*, to whom *Spain* is indebted for her first Footing there. The Historical Account of which is briefly as follows.

THIS *Columbus* was a Native of *Genoa*; and, according to the Practice of those Times, was reputed a very skillful Mariner; and besides, was very studious in Geography;

graphy; and, as it appeared afterwards, entertained a very just Notion of the Being of a Western Continent, against which he could never be persuaded.

PROVIDENCE seems to have destin'd him to be the Instrument for enriching *Spain* with that new Acquisition; as may reasonably be conjectur'd from the following Accident, which put *Columbus* upon the immediate Search for that Land.

It happened that a Master of a Ship lodged in *Columbus's* House, who had returned from Sea very much indisposed and enfeebled, by the Miseries he had endured in a violent Storm, which had drove his Ship so far the Westward, as to put him altogether out of his Knowledge; at the same Time giving him a Sight of a strange Coast, of which he had no manner of Notion before; and having, with great Difficulty, escaped Shipwreck, and returned Home, after losing almost all his Sailors, he went to lodge in *Columbus's* House, where at last he died of the fore-mention'd Illness, and bequeathed his Charts and Journals to his Landlord *Columbus*; who from thence being farther confirmed in his Opinion, as touching that New Westerly World, he resolved from that Moment to proceed in the Enterprize of finding it. History, it seems, is silent as to this Master's Name, &c. which

may be presumed to be a wilful Omission in favour of *Columbus*, and of the *Spanish* Interest, that Posterity may not have it in their Power to mention the Name of any other *European* beside *Columbus*, who had a prior View of *America*. But I shall not only exhibit the Name of an honourable *Briton*, who long before had settled a Colony in that Part of the World, but prove, by the Testimony of the *Spaniards* themselves, the Probability of the Truth of this Assertion. But to return to *Columbus*.

HE, as I said before, being resolved to prosecute his intended Discovery, and (as is the Case of a great many ingenious Men) not being of Ability in himself to put his Designs in Execution, without proper Assistance and Encouragement, he first of all, in Duty to his Country, proposed the Matter to the *Genoese*. But they, far from giving Credit to what he urged, rejected his Offer with the utmost Contempt, behaving towards him with that infatuated Disregard which is too common in the World among all Ranks of People; to entertain a mean Opinion of the Capacity of a Person who is a Native of their own Country, unless he happens to be what is called, a Man of Fortune, and conspicuous for that, or for some superficial Figure he makes in the World; without which, few or no Schemes  
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or Projects carry any Weight, which come from the Hands of him, who happens to be so unfortunate as to want one or the other of the foregoing Qualifications; as if Wealth was the Fountain of Wisdom, or that a rich Dress inspired a Man with Knowledge. Thus did they ridicule poor *Columbus*; and not content with turning their Backs upon him alone, they abused his whole Family into the Bargain, and seemed scandalized at the Presumption of a *Fisberman's* Son, as they said he was, to pretend to know more of the World than any of their Senators.

*COLUMBUS*, no way discouraged by his Countrymens ill Treatment of him, applied to the Court of *Portugal*; but though that Nation then bore the Sway of being the most expert Navigators, yet they had the same contemptuous Opinion of *Columbus*, and of his Project, as the *Genoese* had, and refused to hearken to him to purpose, being foolishly led away with the like Notions of him; some reviling his Person and Manner of Address, whilst others endeavoured to search out his Pedigree, in hopes to find a Blot in his Escutcheon.

*HEREUPON*, in the Year 1488, he gives his Brother, *Bartholomew Columbus*, Instructions to go directly to *England*, to solicit King *Henry VII.* to the same Purpose as



14 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

as he did the King of *Portugal*; who, setting out accordingly, was unfortunately taken Prisoner on the Sea, by some Pyrates, who stripped him of his very Cloaths, and every Thing else that he had in the Ship; by which, and a violent Sickness, being reduced to great Necessity, he laboured under those Misfortunes for a considerable Time in that Country wherein he was a Stranger, until at last, by his Industry in making Globes and Sea-charts, wherein he was pretty expert, he retrieved himself so as to be able to appear at the *Englisb* Court, where he laid his Brother's Affair before the King, who joyfully embraced the Offer, and gave Orders for sending immediately for *Christopher Columbus*. But the Misfortune which attended *Bartholomew* in his Voyage to *England*, was no less unfortunate to that Kingdom likewise; for that so much Time had been spent, after the Departure of *Bartholomew* from *Portugal* to *England*, without any Account being received by *Christopher* of what became of his Brother *Bartholomew*; that *Christopher* grew impatient of the Delay, as fearing, not without Cause, that perhaps some Person or other of Penetration, either at *Genoa* or *Lisbon*, might take a Thought of putting his Scheme in Practice, and so deprive him of the Honour and Benefit of the Discovery; since, thro' the

the Pains he had taken to persuade his un-  
believing Countrymen, and the King of  
*Portugal*, to give Credit to what he had  
advanced, in relation to that unknown Part  
of the Globe, he, in all likelihood, had un-  
warily laid open the whole Secret with that  
sanguine Positiveness, peculiar to Persons,  
who, knowing the Veracity of their Asser-  
tion, are apt to grow too warm and un-  
guarded in their Expressions against the ob-  
stinate Incredulity of those, who will sub-  
mit to nothing but mere Demonstration, in  
Matters which their weak Capacities can-  
not otherwise comprehend; and which un-  
doubtedly is with some a refined Piece of  
Policy, to work up a Man's Passion by un-  
reasonable Contradictions, in hopes to fer-  
ment the Secret out of his Brain; or other-  
wise, by pretended Offers of doing him Ser-  
vice, in case, say they, the Execution of  
the Scheme be practicable, they put a Man  
under an indispensable Necessity of letting  
them into the whole Affair, not only in  
Hopes of their Patronage and Assistance,  
but for Fear of disobliging them by a Refu-  
sal. And thus it happens, that few Pro-  
jectors enjoy the Fruits of their Study or La-  
bour; whilst some Court Favourite or other,  
not only insinuates a Reputation of  
being the Projector, but very often obtains  
the Reward also, and leaves the detested

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## 16 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

Author to join in Chorus with the Poets, *Sic vos non vobis*, &c. These Consultations, I say, probably made *Christopher* propose it to King *Ferdinando* of *Casille*, without waiting for his Brother *Barbolomew's* Return from his *English* Expedition; and no sooner was his Proposal made, than it was received with Gladness by that King, who immediately gave Orders for fitting him out for this new Voyage; which, tho' it seem'd to be, as it really was, a hazardous Undertaking, on the Part of those who actually embarked in it; yet, such were the low Circumstances to which the Kingdom of *Spain* was then reduced, that the Hopes of this new Acquisition prevailed with King *Ferdinando* to risk the Loss of his Ships and Men, &c. upon the Chance of thus retrieving his Affairs, should they return, as they afterwards did, with Success.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 4th of *August*, 1492, *Christopher Columbus* sailed from *Cadiz* with two Ships and a Pinnace, having on Board 120 Soldiers, besides the Seamen; and in his Way, having made the *Canary Islands*, he, in thirty-four Days, had sight of the Island of *Cuba*, and having rough Weather, he kept off from the Shore, but at last put in to the Island of *Hispaniola*, where his best Ship run a-ground.

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THE King of that Island, *Guaccanarillo*, and his Subjects, received them with all Marks of Hospitality; and not only assisted the *Spaniards* in saving what they could out of the Wreck of their Ship, but likewise permitted them to build Lodge on the Shore, to shelter them against the Heat of the Weather, which, to these new Comers, was very uneasy; and also furnished them with Victuals, and every Thing the Place afforded for Refreshment. This kind Reception from a Savage People, seemingly more so from their Want of Cloathing, rather than any Thing else, gave the designing *Spaniards* an Opportunity of erecting a Fort there, under Colour of taking Possession in the Name of the King of *Spain*: And, after providing themselves with some Gold, Fruits, and other Things of the Produce of that Country, to carry Home as a Testimony of their having been there, they left thirty-eight *Spaniards* in the Fort, and returned to *Old Spain*, to the no small Joy of that Court.

THE Histories of that Discovery tell us, how greatly the *Spaniards* aggrandized the King of *Spain* to those *Indians*, and how tractable the latter were in understanding what was said to them concerning Religion, and otherwise; for that we are told, that when *Hernan Cortez* first went to the Island



18 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

of *Cozumel*, which was in *February*, 1519, as shall be related in its Place, there was an Idol there of the same Name, which was had in great Veneration, not only by the Islanders themselves, but by the Inhabitants of several Provinces on the Continent; a great Number of whom then happened to be assembled in that Idol's Temple, where their Priest seemed to be earnestly engaged in preaching to them; which was to be understood of him by his Tone and Gestures. That the *Casique* (a Petty King or Governor) of that Island being then with *Cortez*, this last, after interrupting the Priest, told the *Casique*, that, in order to preserve the Peace and Friendship agreed on betwixt them, it was essential for him to renounce the Worship of his Idol, and by his Example to influence his Subjects to do the like: After this, taking the *Casique* aside with his Interpreter, he convinced him so thoroughly of the Error of his own, and the Truth of the Christian Religion, that the *Indian* was confounded; and, not caring to take upon himself the Defence of his Cause in that Particular, said he would communicate the Matter to the Priests, who were fully authorized by him to determine finally in religious Affairs; of which, when the Priests were apprized, they came before *Cortez*, making hideous Outcries, which the

the Interpreter explain'd to be Protestations of immediate Vengeance from Heaven, to be denounced against such as should dare attempt any Thing of that Kind: Upon which *Cortez* seeming much displeased, his Soldiers instantly took the Hint, attacked the Idol, and broke it and the Altar in Pieces, together with several little Idols besides; which Action extremely astonished the *Indians*, who expected immediately to see the Effects of the threaten'd Vengeance fall upon the Heads of the *Spaniards*. But when they perceived no Alteration in the Face of the Heavens, they began to despise such suffering Gods, and had them in as great Contempt then, as they were in Esteem with them before. All the rest of the Temples in the Island suffer'd the same Fate; but in the chief of them the *Spaniards* built an Altar, and placed on it the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, and set up a large Cross at the Entrance of it; and next Day Mass was celebrated at that Altar, where the aforesaid *Casique* with his *Indians* assisted in devout Silence. The Stay which *Cortez* made in this Island was only eight Days; and since so great a Progress was made in so short a Time, in converting so great a Number of Souls, and with so little Difficulty too, it is lamentable that the same Industry was not used elsewhere

all that General's Progress. Thus it was industriously given out, that the Salvation of Souls was the principal Motive of this Enterprize; and how sincerely soever it might have been intended by some at Home, yet it is plain that those Abuses were committed Abroad; and what makes the Guilt the more general is, because no Mention has been made of any One's being ever called to an Account for them.

BUT however the *Indians* might be inspir'd by Providence with Natural Notions of a Supreme Being, it is very much to be question'd, how they could be so soon made sensible of the Grandeur of the King of *Spain*, and of their Duty of Obedience to him, tho' he was represented to them as the most powerful Prince upon Earth; an Imposture which the *Spaniards* have no Reason to boast of, if upon that alone it was, as it really seems to be, that they place the Merit of getting the *Indians* under their Subjection: For if so, it was not as being King of *Spain*, that they submitted to him, but as being the greatest Monarch in the World; which King *Ferdinand* was so far from being, that at that Time he was only stiled King of *Castile*.

I MENTION this only to shew, that their first setting out was far from carrying with it the Face of Truth and Probity in their Practices, or a Design to propagate the Gospel

spel, as they since pretended; but, on the contrary, it will appear presently, that an insatiable Thirst after Riches was the sole Cause and Motive of that Undertaking; as the Fear of losing any Part of it has ever since been the Foundation of that raging Jealousy, which *Spain* entertains against all other People, who are superior or equal to her in Naval Strength.

As *Columbus* had now given full Proofs of the Reality of that, which before was doubted of by most People; so nothing was wanting on the Part of King *Ferdinand*, to endeavour the completing of that Discovery; to which Purpose, on the second of *September*, 1493, *Columbus* sailed a second Time, with a Fleet of seventeen Ships under his Command, having on board a sufficient Number of Soldiers to carry on the Conquest of *Hispaniola*; and a great many Families, with proper Materials for Husbandry, and otherwise, to establish a Settlement there. And having in twenty-one Days after his Departure fallen in with the Island *Dominica*, one of the *Caribbee* Islands; he coasted along some others of them, and at last arrived at *Hispaniola*, where he hoped to find his Men in good Health, whom he had left there in his former Voyage; but to his great Concern found the Fort quite demolished, and learned



learned, that the thirty-eight *Spaniards* had been killed by the Natives, who were justly provoked at the insupportable Behaviour and Insolencies of the *Spaniards*, who were guilty of the most inhuman Acts of Violence towards them, by torturing the Men, in order to extort a Confession of the Gold Mines, which they supposed to be in that Island, murdering those with whom they found any Gold if they refused it to them, and forcing from them their Wives and Daughters, to satisfy their lustful Desires: Such were their Practices, and such their just Punishment that ensued.

In the mean while *Bartholomew Columbus* having about this Time returned from *England* into *Spain*, and finding that his Brother *Christopher* had already done the Work by the Assistance of the King of *Castile*, whereby the Engagements he had entered into with the King of *England* were then become ineffectual, he followed his Brother *Christopher* to *Hispaniola*, by Order of the Court, where he joined him in carrying on the further Enterprizes he was charged with, *Christopher* being at that Time returned to *Hispaniola* from the Discovery of *Cuba* and *Jamaica*.

KING Henry VII. being thus disappointed of the Fruits of *Columbus's* Discovery, resolved, nevertheless, to employ some other Persons

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Persons in the like Service; and for that End pitched upon *John Cabot*, a *Venetian* Merchant, who with his three Sons, *Lewis*, *Sebastian* and *Sancius*, were come to fertile in *London*; the same *Cabot* having the Reputation of being a skillful Navigator, and one who could make Globes, Maps and Charts, in which likewise he instructed his Sons, to whom, jointly with the Father, the King granted Letters Patent, dated the fifth of *March*, 1495, being the eleventh Year of his Reign, empowering them and their Heirs and Deputies, to sail with five Ships of any Burthen, to make Discoveries of unknown Lands, possessed by Heathens or Infidels, and as yet not known to Christians; and to get the Possession of them under his Title and Jurisdiction, and so to hold and enjoy such Lands, &c. to themselves, reserving a fifth Part of the Profits thereof to the Crown, as may be seen more fully in the Records of the Rolls.

By Virtue of this Patent *John Cabot* and his Son *Sebastian*, set out from *Bristol*, and discovered the *Island* of *Newfoundland*, from whence they brought home three of the *Natives*, and named a Port there *Sancius Haven*. After *John Cabot's* Death, *Sebastian* set out with two Ships at the King's Charges, in the Year 1496, with which he sailed to 58 Degrees of North Latitude,

24 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

Latitude, on the Coast of *North America*; and from thence coasted it all the Way to the Southward, as far as *Florida*, where his Provisions falling short, he returned to *England*, where the Commotions between the *English* and the *Scotch* being then very great, the further Prosecution of his *Discoveries* was postponed for that Time; but the King (*Edward VI*) by his Guardian the Duke of *Somerset*, rewarded him with a Pension of 166 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *per Annum*, for his Life; as appears by the Grant for that Purpose, dated the sixth of *January* 1549, in the second Year of that King's Reign; which was a Pension counted very great in those Days; and must not therefore these Services be deemed very signal, when so great a Pension was granted in recompense thereof?

THESE Discoveries of *Cabot's* are attested by *Ramusius*, *Peter Martyr*, *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, and others.

CABOT's further Discoveries, in behalf of the Crown of *England*, being interrupted by Means of the Misunderstanding between the *English* and the *Scotch*. he went to *Spain*, where he was highly carressed, in order to prevent his engaging with any other Court; and was made *Pilot Major* of *Spain*, and was sent out to discover the Coasts of *Brasil*, which he performed, and entered above six score Leagues into the  
*River*

River called *Rio de la Plata*, which signifies, the *River of Silver*.

AFTER this *Ferdinando Sottus* sailed from *Spain*, and landed five hundred Men on the Coast of *Florida*, where he committed such *Cruelties* as are shocking to hear; for besides the vast Number of what we may call the common Sort of People, which he massacred, he caused the Hands of fifteen of their *Chiefs*, or *Princes*, to be cut off, because they would not discover to him where they had their Gold from.

IN the Year 1519, *Ferdinando Courtez* set sail from *Spain*, with a *Fleet* of thirteen *Ships*, and landed in the *Island* of *Cozumel*, on the East Side of that Part of the Continent called *Yucatan*, from which *Island* the *Spaniards* invaded the Continent, and established a sure Footing at *La Vera Cruz*, in that Part now called *New Spain*, with a small Part of *Darien*, and the *Islands* of *St. Domingo*, *Cuba*, *Puerto Rico*, and *Jamaica*, as shall be hereafter taken Notice of.

THUS I have shewn the Time and Manner of the *Spaniards* first Settlement in the *West-Indies*, which, though somewhat prior to what I have mentioned of that Discovery of the Coast of *New America*, from *Newsoundland* to *Florida*, by *Cabot*, in Behalf of the *English*; yet I shall not yeild the Precedence to *Spain* on that Account,

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26 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
because it appears, that the *English* were long before settled in that Part of the World; and though all Correspondence between the first Planters and their Countrymen, and between the Descendants of both, happened to cease, or be interrupted through some Misfortune or other, for so long a Space of Time as three hundred Years; yet the Right of Possession seems more strongly to exist in the *English* Nation, if Priority of Settlement be made the Standard of that Right, which is recorded in Dr *Powell's* History of *Wales* to this Effect.

“ *Owen Gwyneth*, who was Prince of  
“ *North Wales*, being dead, left three legitimate Sons, viz. *Edward*, or *Forwerth*  
“ *Drewydion*, *David*, and *Maddock*, also a  
“ base Son named *Howell*. The eldest Son  
“ *Edward*, whose Right it was to rule, was  
“ laid aside on Account of some *Blemish* in  
“ his Face; therefore, *Howell* had the Pre-  
“ sumption to take the Government upon  
“ himself; upon which *David*, the second  
“ Son, raised all the Forces he could against  
“ him, and slew him in Battle, and thence-  
“ forth quietly enjoy'd the Government, un-  
“ til his Nephew, the Son of *Edward*, came  
“ of Age. In the mean Time, the youngest  
“ Brother, *Maddock ap Owen Gwyneth*, re-  
“ solving to get out of Harm's way, provi-  
“ ded himself with Ships and Men, and  
“ about

“ about the Year 1170, set sail from *Wales*,  
 “ and leaving the Coast of *Ireland* far  
 “ North, kept a Westerly Course until he  
 “ arrived at a strange Land, where leav-  
 “ ing most of his People, he returned back  
 “ to *Wales*; and upbraiding his Kinsmen  
 “ and Countrymen with their Folly, in  
 “ quarrelling about the wild and barren  
 “ Lands of *Wales*, he engaged a great ma-  
 “ ny Families to go with him to that New-  
 “ found Country, where every Thing flour-  
 “ rished in Plenty. Accordingly, he set  
 “ Sail a second Time with ten Ships; but  
 “ as his Colony was but small, in respect  
 “ of the Inhabitants which he found there,  
 “ his People by Degrees dwindled into  
 “ their Language and Customs, and, as it  
 “ must be supposed, intermixed with the  
 “ Natives in Marriages, so that the Inhabi-  
 “ tants found there by the *Spaniards* were  
 “ certainly Descendants from those *Britons*;  
 “ For it appears by the History of *Francis*  
 “ *Lopez de Gomara*, that the Natives of  
 “ the Island of *Cozumel* honoured the  
 “ Cross, and made Use of several Words  
 “ in their Language, which are of *Welsh*  
 “ Signification; for Instance, The Island  
 “ of *Penguin*, and the Birds of that Name,  
 “ in *Welsh* signifies *Whitehead*; for so these  
 “ Birds in reality have white Heads. Like-  
 “ wise there is a Kind of Fruit growing in

28 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

“ that Country, called *Gwyneths*, which  
“ is a *Welsh* Word.

“ MOREOVER, it appears from the Evidence of the *Spanish* Chronicles, that the  
“ Speech made by *Moteczuma*, that great  
“ Emperor of *Mexico*, in the Presence of  
“ *Hernando Cortez*, about the Year 1520,  
“ is a further Confirmation of what is related of that *Welsh* Settlement; for when  
“ *Cortez* had made the Emperor a Prisoner, and found that his Subjects were  
“ unanimously resolved to rescue him, and  
“ destroy the *Spaniards*; *Cortez* fearing  
“ the worst, soothed *Moteczuma* with such  
“ fair Speeches, as prevailed on him to  
“ desire his Subjects to lay down their  
“ Arms; to which Purpose he harangued  
“ them in the following Manner.

“ My Kinsmen, Friends, and Servants;  
“ you well know, that eighteen Years I  
“ have been your King, as my Fathers and  
“ Grandfathers were, and always I have  
“ been unto you a loving Prince, and you  
“ unto me, good and obedient Subjects;  
“ and so I hope you will remain unto me  
“ all the Days of my Life. You ought to  
“ have in Remembrance, that either you  
“ have heard of your Fathers, or else our  
“ Divines have instructed you, that we are  
“ not naturally of this Country, nor yet is  
“ our Kingdom durable; because our Fore-  
“ fathers

“ fathers came from a far Country, and  
 “ their King and Captain, who brought  
 “ them hither, returned again to his natu-  
 “ ral Country, saying, that he would send  
 “ such as should rule and govern us, if by  
 “ Chance he himself returned not, &c.” ----

THIS Oration of *Moteczuma's* carries with it a strong Presumption in Favour of the *West* History; for though the *West-Indians* were deficient of Literature, yet they handed down every Thing of Moment by Tradition, from Father to Son; nor were their Priests less famous in foretelling some future Events, which, as they were the more remarkable, so they made the stronger Impressions on the People; and therefore in this that concerned the Revolution of their State, which had been foretold them for many Years before, it conduced very much to the Advantage of the *Spaniards*, when the *Indians* saw that Time probably come to pass, which they so much dreaded; and as it carried with it the plain Appearance of the Overthrow of their Monarchy, they were the sooner brought into Subjection, for they put so great Confidence in that Prophecy, that they thought it in vain to oppose the *Spaniards*.

BEFORE I enter upon a Scrutiny of the *Spanish Title* to the *West-Indies*, I think it necessary



necessary to take Notice of the *French* Pretensions in that Part of the World.

THE first that set out in Behalf of the *French* Nation, upon an Expedition of that Kind, was *Jean's Cartier*, of *St. Mala*, on the twentieth of *April*, 1534. with two Ships upon the King's Account, with which he arrived at *Neufoundland* on the tenth of *May* following, which he coasted, and took upon him to give new Names to Harbours and Islands thereabouts, which had been discovered thirty-eight Years before that Time by *Cabot*, for King *Henry VII.* and frequented by the *English*, as has been already mentioned. Nevertheless, the *French* called this a Discovery, and returned home very proud of their Adventure, and of a Prize of two Children of the Natives whom they had seized by surprize in a Canoe, and afterwards extorted a Consent from the Parents for their Departure with them, which the poor People were not able to prevent.

HOWEVER, this encouraged the King of *France* to order further Discoveries to be made, and thereupon the said Mr. *Cartier* was sent out with three Ships, properly furnished, with which he enter'd the River *St. Lawrence*, on the eighth of *August*, 1535, which the Natives called the River of *Hochelaga*, from the Town of that Name, which lay up in the Country of

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### Spanish Cruelty display'd. 31

*Canada*, and which the *Frenchmen* went to see. It is surprizing to hear with what Assurance they gave an Account, after their Return from *France*, of their Success in converting the Natives to the Christian Religion, in so short a Time as two or three Days Conversation, and giving them so great a Dislike to their God *Cudruaigny*, as that they should say he was nought. When we consider the Nature of those People, their obstinate Temper, their Bigotry to Idolatry, and the Strangeness of their Language, it is incredible that they should be so soon and so easily perswaded from an Opinion which they had imbibed from their Infancy; and especially, when by the Actions of the Discoverers they could see no Examples of that Uprightness in Life which is recommended by the Christian Religion, to be practised by all its Professors, and which should induce these obstinate Infidels to make so sudden a Change in their Minds and Manners.

THERE is another early Discovery which was made by the *English*, and which claims the Precedence of any other Christian Nation, that is, as to the Island of *Madeira*, which was first discovered by one *Macham*, an *Englishman*, in the Year 1344, in the following Manner, which is recorded in the Chronicles of the Reign of *Peter IV.* then

32 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

then King of Arragon, in the *Portugal* History, written by *Antonio Galvano*.

“ THIS *Macham* having sailed out of  
“ *England*, with Intent to withdraw into  
“ *Spain* with a Woman whom he had stolen, or, as the Saying is, run away with,  
“ was by tempestuous Weather accidentally  
“ drove upon the Island of *Madeira*, where  
“ he landed with her and some of his Company in a Bay or Haven, which after  
“ him is called *Machico*, in order to recover her from her Sea-Sickness and Fright.  
“ But the Ship being afterward drove off from the Coast, sailed away with the rest of the Crew, and left *Macham* with his Mistress, and such as had landed with him, without Hope of returning from the Island, which she took so much to Heart, that she died for Grief; and *Macham*, to commemorate his Affection for her, and the Occasion and Manner of their coming there, built a little Chapel and a Monument to bury her in, whereon he engraved the whole Story. He afterwards made a Canoe, by hollowing a large Tree, and in it, without Sails or Oars, ventured to Sea, and was drove upon the Coast of *Africa*, where the *Moors* took him and his Companions, and presented them to their King as a great Wonder, and he sent them all to the King of *Castile*. ”

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### Spanish Cruelty display'd.

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THIS Discovery put others upon the like Enterprizes, in Consequence of which King Henry III, of *Castile*, and several in *France*, went upon the further Discovery of *Madeira*, and of the *Canary Islands*, in the Year 1395, which was forty-nine Years after *Macham's* Discovery. The same Author who writes about *Macham*, as before, says, that in the Year 1417, during the Reign of King John II, of *Castile*, and the Regency of his Mother Lady *Katherine*, one Monsieur *Ruben of Bracamont*, who was Admiral of *France*, obtained from the above Queen-Regent, Leave to conquer the Islands of the *Canaries*, with the Title of King, for a Kinsman of his, named *John Betancourt*; for which Purpose she likewise assisted him with a good Number of Soldiers, with whom he departed from *Seville*; but, at the same Time, it was generally thought, that his principal Aim was upon the Island of *Madeira*, which had been already discovered by *Macham* seventy-three Years before. Nevertheless, the *Spaniards* pretend, that they discovered the *Canaries* in *Columbus's* first Voyage to *America*, and the *Portuguese* claim the first Discovery of those Islands in their Voyage towards *Ethiopia* and the *East-Indies*, which carries the greater Probability with it; for the *Portu-  
guese*

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34 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*guese* traded to the *East-Indies* for Spices, by the Way of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, before *America* was discovered by *Columbus*; and tho' the *Spaniards*, with the *Assistance* of several *English* Gentlemen, whose Posterity remain in the *Islands of Canary, Teneriffe, and Palma*, to this Day, were the first that entirely subdued those *Islands* to Obedience; yet it is no Argument that they were the first Discoverers thereof.

Having now set forth the most early *Discoveries* which have been made of the then unknown Parts of the World, by the *English*, the *Spanish*, and the *French* Subjects, in Behalf of their respective Sovereigns; I shall now proceed to a *Consideration* of the *Right* and *Title* of each Crown, in Consequence of such *Discoveries*.

This Right, if any, must accrue either from an *original Discovery*, or from an *actual* and just *Possession*: And taking it in either Sense, or rather in both, there is great Reason, from what has been related in Respect of the Voyage of *Maddock ap Owen Gwyneth*, to give the Precedence of Right, even under the Denomination of *hereditary Right*, to the *English*; for where the Crown is once *lawfully* possessed of Lands in its own *Right*, no Lapse of Time, in discontinuing that Possession, can bar its future Claim thereto; and therefore, if

if the Truth of *Maddock's* Enterprize cannot be confuted, as I believe it can't, the King of *Great Britain* has a Right to be restored to those antient Possessions of his Crown. For whatsoever Subject of any Prince or State first discovers, and *lawfully* enters upon any Lands, till then unknown, and unclaimed by any other *lawful* Prince or State, those Lands are then immediately deemed to be *Seignory* of that Prince or State, whose Subject was such first *Discoverer*, or Possessor thereof; and as it seems that *Maddock* was received by Consent of the People, so his Entry was lawful; so resting this here, I shall come nearer home, and enter upon the Merit of the *Spaniards* Claim under the Discovery of *Christopher Columbus*, which is the *ne plus ultra* of their Pretensions.

The Notions which *Columbus* at first probably formed to himself, of the Situation of more Lands to the Westward than were then known, must have been owing to the vast Disparity which he found in the small Extent of the then known World, compared with that of the greater Ocean; and considering that so great a Globe as comprehended the Earth and the Sea, must, in all Probability, contain a greater Quantity of Land than was then known; otherwise, he was at a Loss to

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think wherefore so great a Body of Water should subsist, at the same Time that only so small a Quantity of Earth was to be found in it, which could answer no conceivable Purpose respecting the Creation, according to human Way of thinking; He therefore could not be persuaded, but that there was a great deal more Land lying to the Westward than was yet discovered; and as *Chance* had furnished him with a Proof of the Truth of his Conjecture, by Means of the Master of a Ship, who died in his House, as is before related; so he was stedfastly confirmed therein, and *Spain*, by a Kind of *Chance* too, reaped the Fruits of his Study and Labour in the Manner before-mentioned.

The Inhabitants of that Part of the World called *America*, were, at the same Time, as great Strangers to the Knowledge of any other Continent but their own as the *Spaniards* were, before *Columbus's* Expedition to that of *America*, which was divided into two vast Empires, viz. *Mexico* and *Peru*, which were also divided into Kingdoms, Provinces and Lordships, wherein the Inhabitants were governed by their respective Kings, Princes, and Chieftans, or *Caziques*, according to the Laws and Customs of the Place; to whom the Populace submitted with as great Loyalty and Rea-

Readiness as ever any *Europeans* did to their own Monarchs. They had not much Occasion for Traffic, every Necessary in Life, being, in a Manner, in common among them. Tho' they fell into the Practice of *Bigamy*, yet their *Maidens*, or unmarried Women, were chaste, and their *Wives* were constant. They were in Possession of the greatest *Riches* that the Earth could afford, both in *Metals* and *precious Stones*; yet they valued it not, nor had they Occasion for it. They required no Gardeners to dress their Vines, nor Herdsmen to take Care of their Flocks. Nature supported their daily Wants, by the fruitful Produce of the Land, and they stood in need of nothing, but a true *Knowledge* of the great God their Creator. But when I mention that, I may say, they wanted every Thing, since without him all is nought.-----

In this State the *Spaniards* found them; and though the former received Instances of Hospitality from them at their first landing in *Hispaniola*, when the best and largest of *Columbus's* three *Ships* was run ashore and broke to Pieces; yet the *Spaniards* requited them with *Murders*, *Rapes*, and *Robberies*, and, by mere Force, established a *Possession* of their Lands and Goods, and usurped a Government over their Persons, with-



### 38 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

without any lawful Cause or Pretext. If the *Right* of the *Spaniards* be considered merely as being the first *Discoverers* of that Country, surely that *Right* cannot be construed to extend farther than where they took actual Possession, and made Settlements, unless they will insist upon it figuratively, by taking a Part in the Name of the Whole; if so, they know not where their *Right* determines, since the North Parts of the Continent of *America* are not yet known: But should any *Englishman* happen to *discover* them hereafter, and make a *Chart* of the Coasts, whereby the *Spaniards* could find the Way thither, they would certainly extend their Claim thither likewise, according to the foregoing Rule: And unless they insist upon this general Claim of all the *Terra firma*, in the Right of their first Discovery, the *English* must be certainly intitled to all the Coast from *Newfoundland* to *Florida*, and to such other Places as the *Spaniards* knew nothing of before, nor were ever in Sight of; and, for the same Reason, the *English* must also be entitled to the *Discoveries* made by Sir *Francis Drake*, on the South-Sea Side of *America*, where never *Spaniard* was before, viz. from *Santa Clara*, on the Point of *California*, in 23 Degrees of North Latitude to 43 Degrees; where, finding it extreme

treme cold, he returned back into 38 Degrees of Latitude, where the King of that Country, to which Country Sir *Francis* gave the Name of *Nova Albion*, willingly *resigned* his Crown and Sceptre, in Token of Submission to Queen *Elizabeth*, which was such a *Possession* as the *Spaniards* are not able to boast of; nor did they obtain any in a just or peaceable Manner, but, on the contrary, by downright Artifice and Treachery, supported by Force and Violence. It was from this Place that Sir *Francis* took his Departure for the *Moluccas*, in *June* 1579, when he made his Voyage round the World.

Since therefore this universal Right to all *America* cannot reasonably subsist to the *Spaniards*, merely for their being the first *Europeans*, if admitted to be so, who got a Sight of that unknown Land; it must then follow, that *they* ground their *Claim* upon their *actual Possession*; and, if so, such *Claim* cannot extend to any Parts whereof they never were *possessed*, before any other *Europeans*; for if Possessions of that Nature were allowed to be sufficient in establishing a Right and Title in the *Conqueror*, of the whole of what belonged to the conquered; *Great Britain* may claim all the *Spanish* Dominions, in Right of being possessed of *Gibraltar* and *Jamaica*.

Though

40 OLD ENGLAND *for Ever*; or,

Though the Empire of *Mexico* was very large, yet it did not comprehend all the Northern Continent of *America*; and the strongest Argument that the *Spaniards* can make for their pretended *Right* is, that there was a voluntary Resignation and Vassalage made and acknowledged by the Emperor *Motexama* to *Cortez*, for the Use of the King of *Spain*, which, they say, gave *Cortez* a Right to insist upon the future Obedience of the Subjects of *Motexama*, and to obtain, by *Force* of Arms, what by *Subtilty* and *Deceit* he was no longer able to compass. In order therefore to examine into the *Legality* of this Possession of the Continent, it will be necessary to take a View of the Manner in which it was obtained by *Cortez*.

The Success which attended the Discovery made by *Christopher Columbus*, and his Successors, for the Space of twenty-six Years ensuing, which was to the Year 1518, was the Reduction only of those four Islands of *St. Domingo*, *Cuba*, *Puerto Rico*, and *Jamaica*, and a little Footing they had got on the Isthmus of *Darien*, the most southerly Part of that now called *New Spain* on the Continent, as mentioned before.

Capt. *Diego Velasquez* was at this Time Deputy-Governor of *Cuba*, as Lieutenant under *Diego Colon*, the second Admiral of the

the *Indies*; and hearing of the Riches of *America*, by his being to nearly situated to it, and also from some Soldiers, who the Year before had been at *Tucatan*, in an Expedition under *Fernandez de Cordova*, who lost his Life in the Action, and his Men were defeated, (for what Gold they had in *Cuba* was brought thither from *Tucatan*, a Peninsula of the Continent, which divides the Gulphs of *Mexico* and *Honduras*) he sent out four Vessels, under the Command of *Juan de Grijalva*, with two hundred and fifty Soldiers, who, in *April* 1518, set out for *Tucatan*, and, in their Way, accidentally hit upon the Island of *Cozumel*, which lies on the East Side of that Peninsula, in the Bay of *Honduras*, as before related.

These Parts had already been visited from Time to Time by several *Spanish* Captains, who were Free-Booters; and who, for the Sake of Plunder, had committed all Manner of Vices, and Acts of Inhumanity among the poor *Indians*, which very justly fixed a Notion among those latter, that Religion was only a Pretence, whilst a covetous and insatiable Thirst after Gold and Silver seemed to have been the chief Aim of those Conquerors. So that from hence it is plain, that the *Indians* never made a voluntary Submission by Choice, but



but that such as it was, proceeded from Fear of Oppression, and a Want of Means to protect themselves against the Inroads of the Spaniards.

From Cozumel, *Grijalva* went to *Tucatan*, and landed where *Fernandez de Cordova* had been defeated the Year before, and in Revenge of his Death, which was very justifiable in the *Indians*, as being in their own Defence, he destroyed every Thing that came his Way; then returning on Board, he coasted the Land to the Bottom of the Bay of *Campechy*, and went up the River of *Tobasco*, in two of his smallest Vessels, with all his Soldiers, where finding a great Body of *Indians* in Canoes, and on the Shore, he landed and set up his Standard, which, with some other short Ceremonies used by those Conquerors, was the Manner of their taking Possession, as they called it. He sent them a Message by two *Indian* Boys, who were made Prisoners in the first Expedition to *Tucatan*, that he came in Peace, and that he and his Men were Vassals to a powerful Monarch, who possessed an Empire where the Sun rises, in whose Name they came to offer him Peace, and great Advantages, if they would become his Subjects. The *Indians* gave a disagreeable Attention to this Proposal, and one of them, in the Name of the rest,

rest, made an Answer very just and remarkable: "That they did not esteem  
"that to be a good Kind of Peace which  
"was desired to be introduced by 'Sub-  
"jection and Vassalage; and thought it  
"preposterous to talk to them of a new  
"Master before he knew whether they  
"were discontented with him they had al-  
"ready had: But as to the Point of Peace  
"or War, they would speak of it to their  
"Superiors, and return with an Answer."  
The Result was, that their Cazique came  
and said, that he accepted of Peace for the  
best, as it was left to his Choice to chuse  
good or bad; and having regaled the *Spaniards*, and presented them with some Cu-  
riorities of Gold, Feathers, and Cotton  
Cloths, that Cazique told *Grijalva*, that  
by that Present he took a friendly Leave  
of him in Token of Peace, and so de-  
parted; and *Grijalva* returned on Board,  
proceeded along the Coast, and traded with  
the Natives by bartering Toys for Gold:  
At last, meeting with Opposition, being  
attacked at the River of *Panuco*, the far-  
thest Province of *New Spain*, on the Gulph  
of *Mexico*, they returned to *Cuba*; and  
their Report to *Velasquez* put him upon  
prosecuting these Discoveries further. Here-  
upon he fitted out ten Ships, and appoint-  
ed *Herman Cortez* to be Captain-General

of that Fleet, and of the Countries discover'd, or to be discover'd. With this Fleet he set out in *November* 1518; but before he had quitted the Coast of *Cuba* his Authority was revok'd by *Velasquez*, and another appointed in his Room; but as *Cortez* was now in Possession of his Post, and of the Fleet, and got out of the Reach of *Velasquez*, he refused to return or submit, but proceeded on the intended Enterprize.

From this Time it must be considered with what Authority *Cortez* undertook the Conquests which he afterwards made. *Velasquez*, who had at first appointed him to that Undertaking, was himself but a Deputy to the Vice-Admiral *Colon*, by the Title of Lieutenant, and as such governed the Island of *Cuba* only; and had *Cortez* been continued by him in that Command wherewith the other pretended to invest him, and had been defeated, or lost the Fleet, it is to be doubted whether the Court of *Spain* would have allowed of that Authority which *Velasquez* had assumed to himself, of appointing *Cortez* to such a great Command, without the Leave of the Court, who was no Way apprized of the Matter.

On the other Hand, as *Velasquez* had revoked the Authority which he had given to *Cortez*, and had afterwards caused it to  
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be signified to him in Form, we must consider *Cortez*, from that Time forth, to be no other than a formidable Rebel as to *Spain*; and a Pyrate and Robber as to the *Indians*; for though his fortunate Successes in *America* were, upon that Account, afterwards approved of in *Spain*, since without further Aid from thence, he was incapable of preserving his new Acquisitions; and having, by the Proofs he sent home of the Riches of the Country, dazzled the Eyes of the Court, secured powerful Agents in his Behalf, and obtained not only a Confirmation and Applause of his Actions, but also full Powers to proceed as he had begun; yet all this was subsequent to his Reduction of the City of *Mexico*, the Capital of that Empire; and his intermediate Actions would have been far from receiving Approbation, if the Advantages attending them had not happened to be very great, in Respect of *Old Spain*, without whose further Assistance, could he have maintained his Conquest, it is thought he would have been far from laying them at the King's Feet.

Nevertheless, it was but common Policy in *Cortez* to screen all his Actions in the King's Name, otherwise he could not expect to exact that Obedience necessarily due from those under him, nor carry on his Conquests with any Colour; and lastly, had



had he thrown off the Mask, before he knew in what Shape his Enterprizes would end, he would have been left destitute of all Hopes of reconciling himself at home, in Case of his miscarrying abroad; and, in Case of Success, he must have purchased his Pardon with a Resignation of all past Gains, and of all future Honour and Advantages of his Expedition.

In this Light we must treat *Hernan Cortez* from the aforesaid Time of his setting out till he reduced *Mexico*, which was on the thirteenth of *August* 1521, as a Person invading the Rights and Properties of a Nation, massacring its Inhabitants, and extorting a Kind of Submission from them to the King of *Castile*, under fictitious Encumbrances and Titles of a Sovereignty, monstrous to boast of, and a Power in itself altogether as false, such as styling the King of *Castile*, Monarch of the East, and pretending that himself came as Ambassador from the most powerful Monarch the Sun shined on from it's rising, and such like, which is frequently to be met with in all his Addresses and Speeches to the *Indians*. He took all Opportunities of introducing himself among them as a Friend and Ally, and, on that Account, met with Hospitality and generous Treatment; but, at the same Time, he made use of those Re-

Receptions as a Handle to insist upon a Possession of those Places where he was thus civilly entertained. He declared, that one of the Designs of his valiant Troops, was to redress Wrongs, punish Violence, and to take Part with Justice and Reason. *Don Quixote* could have said no more; but the other Designs he kept to himself. With such Speeches and Insinuations he sounded the Minds of those Governors of Provinces under *Moteczuma*, and played the one against the other so artfully, that he enflamed them with Jealousies of each other; and when he had kindled a War or Rebellion, he then step'd in as a Mediator, and seized the Bone of Contention. His Steps seem now to be exactly followed by some in *Europe*, that one would be apt to think, a second *Cortez* was at the Head of Affairs in a neighbouring Kingdom.

Where Possessions were obtained in this Manner, and that a Stranger, who was received in the Country and the Towns, in the most civil Manner, should afterwards pretend to assume an immediate Authority over the People, in Return for their Hospitality, it is no Wonder that they should enter private Cabals and Conspiracies to get rid of such ungrateful Guests. But how such People can be called Traitors, when their Submission, such as it was, was forced in

48 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

in that unjustifiable Manner is wonderful in those who wrote the Histories of those Times; but when we consider who they were, *Spaniards*, we must not admire at it. The Massacre committed by *Cortez* in the City of *Cholula*, in cold Blood, in his Way to *Mexico*, is, for that Reason, pretended to be justified; because he discovered an Intention in the Inhabitants to surprize him and his Men. Could he expect any other elsewhere, tho' he had the good Fortune to surmount the Difficulty? For it is a common Saying, that a Man cannot be hanged for thinking, and if *Cortez* could make it a Crime worthy of that unchristian Revenge at *Cholula*, he by the same Rule might have destroyed every Man in *America*.

The only Authority, by Virtue whereof *Cortez* now proceeded, was such as took its Rise from his own Person, in the following odd Manner.

When he made a Settlement at *La Vera Cruz*, for the Benefit of his Shipping, as being the only Harbour of Safety thereabouts; and, by the Permission of the Natives, under Colour of an Ally and Friend, fortified himself and his Troops there, to serve as a Place of Retreat, in Case of Need; he formed a Kind of Civil Magistracy, composed of some of his Followers, and

and named the proper Officers and a Council; and being sensible of his past Error in acting without any legal Authority, he thought to amend it by the Method now proposed. He assembled this new Council, and in a Speech to them acknowledged the weak Foundation he stood upon, in respect of his Authority, &c. and thereupon throws down his Staff, and declares his Resignation of that Command given him by *Velasquez*. The Council accept of his Resignation, and then elect him anew, to be Commander in Chief of the Army; which Authority he re-assumes.

Such was the Source of his succeeding Authority, under which he compleated the Reduction of *Mexico*; an Authority of his own creating, and which could give no lawful Sanction to future Actions, any more than they who appointed him could pretend to justify themselves, in assuming that Authority of investing him with that Power, in Consequence of the first Power, which, in Fact, they had received from him. So that upon the whole, he was still as deficient of lawful Power, as he when superseded by *Velasquez's* Revocation before-mentioned.

The Reception of *Cortez* in *Mexico*, though against *Moteczuma's* Inclination, as he could not get over it, was yet in a magnificent

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nificant Manner; and as *Cortex* had in his Way thither stirred up all the *Caziques* to rebel against *Motazuma*, they refused paying the usual Tributes to his Officers, who went about collecting it; and *Juan de Escalante*, whom *Cortex* had left as Governor of *Vera Cruz* in his Absence, falling out to chastize *Motazuma's* Officers, and to support the *Rebels*, was himself slain in a Battle; upon which *Cortex* took that Pretextence of seizing the Person of *Motazuma* in this Palace, and confining him in the *Spanish* Quarters; yet seemingly not under any Restraint, it being whispered to *Motazuma* by the *Interpreter*, (*Donna Maria*, a female *Indian*, Favourite of *Cortex's*) by Order of *Cortex*, that if he did not submit, his Life was at Stake, so that to protect the *Spaniards* and himself from the just Rage of his People, he concealed from his *Ministers* and Subjects his Confinement, pretending it was his own Choice to reside there: But they saw through the whole Affair, and justly resenting that base Usage of their King, besieged *Cortex* in his Quarters; and the unfortunate Prince going to shew himself on the Battlements of the House, to quell his Subjects, received a Wound in his Head from a Stone thrown at him, whereof, in a few Days after, he died under the same Confinement. His Successor

cessor *Guatimozin*, who was elected by the Voice of the People, according to their Customs, made War upon the *Spaniards*, and obliged them to quit the City of *Mexico*. Afterwards *Cortez*, with the Assistance of the *Tlascalans*, a Province always at War with the *Mexicans*, besieged *Mexico*, took *Guatimozin* Prisoner, with all his Family, and reduced the Town to his Obedience, having before that taken all the neighbouring ones; and thus the *Mexicans* were brought into Subjection, on the thirteenth of *August*, 1521.

THE Pretences made by *Cortez*, for warring against the *Mexicans*, were, that *Moteczuma* had formally, and voluntarily, acknowledged the King of *Spain* to be lawful and hereditary Lord of the *Mexican* Empire. But when this Acknowledgment is narrowly looked into, it will appear to be no other than what was forced, and extorted from him, at a Time when he was Prisoner in *Cortez's* Power, as I just now related; and as his Confinement was both unjust and dishonourable, so no Means to get clear of it, and of the Oppressors, could be deemed to be otherwise than what was natural and just for any Man to do in the like Case; and it was rather a Virtue, than a Crime, in his Subjects, to endeavour the regaining of his Liberty. Moreover, accord-

ing to the modern *Spanisk* Way of explaining Things, that Acknowledgment extorted from *Moteczuma*, was reciprocally to be understood; for *Cortez* at the same Time declared in the Assembly, convened upon that Occasion, "That it was not the Intention of the King, his Sovereign, to dispossess him (*Moteczuma*) of his Royal Dignity, nor to make the least Innovation in his Government, &c." when, at the same Time, he was actually dispossessed of that Royal Dignity, in the most scandalous and unjustifiable Manner: And the Means made Use of by *Cortez* to found a Succession for his King to that Monarchy, were a Complication of Arguments and Facts altogether false and counterfeit; wherefore, as the Successor of *Moteczuma*, and the *Indians*, who then were his lawful Subjects, had recovered their first Surprize, and seen through the Mistake of *Moteczuma*, and the gross Imposition on themselves, it was no Rebellion in them to defend their Rights, and to endeavour to rout the *Spaniards* out of their Dominions. But it is evident, that *Cortez* never intended to acquiesce, without the entire Overthrow of *Moteczuma*: for after this last had complied, most surprizingly, with all that *Cortez* could openly pretend to desire, such as acknowledging Vassalage, and paying Contribution

to that supposed great Monarch of the East, and all upon Condition of *Cortez's* withdrawing out of his Dominions; yet *Cortez* would not leave the City on any Account: And though he was obliged to go to *Vera Cruz*, to oppose the Forces sent against him by *Velasquez*, he left *Moteczuma* still a Prisoner in his Quarters, under the Care of *Pedro de Alvarado*, against whom the *Mexicans* rose in Arms upon the following Occasion, which is thus recounted by *Bartholomeo de las Casas*, afterwards Bishop of *Chiapa*.

“ THE *Mexicans* having appointed a publick Dance of that Kind called *Mittotes*, wherein the Nobles, and all Sorts of People, intermix without Distinction, in great Numbers, dressed up in their richest Ornaments, in order to divert *Moteczuma* in his Confinement; *Pedro Alvarado* taking Notice of the Jewels with which they were adorned, called together his Soldiers, and fell upon them, cutting them to Pieces for the Sake of their Ornaments; in gaining of which infamous Spoils, above two thousand of the *Mexican* Nobility were killed.”

Upon this the *Mexicans* formed a Conspiracy to be revenged on the *Spaniards*, and rose in Arms against them, for which they are no Way blameable: Though the Conduct



duct of *Alvarado* is attempted to be justified by some, under Pretence that the *Mexicans* had conspired against him, and that upon the Information he had of it, he resolved to begin with them first. But even this Excuse is a very weak one; for *Cortez*, at his Return, reprimanded him for it, nevertheless, he took Occasion from thence to declare War against the *Mexicans*, while he had their King in his Power, in which this latter lost his Life as before-mentioned.

THIS Conquest of *Mexico* is pretended to be justified by the same Author as a Thing permitted in other Parts of the World, and allowed of to be lawful, reasonable, and justifiable, whensoever it appears to be undertaken as the necessary Means for the Introduction of the Gospel.

THIS is the dernier Resort of the *Spaniards* and their Advocates, to support their Arguments in Favour of that Conquest, which is introducing a Maxim, That it is lawful to commit Evil that Good may come of it. A very wicked and dangerous Maxim surely; and such, as is not to be justified upon Christian Principles. If we look into the Instructions given by our Saviour to his Apostles, we shall find no Authority for making use of the Sword to propagate the Gospel; but, on the contrary, to make use of Reason and Persuasion, and

and by good Examples to shew the Paths of Righteousness to the Wicked and Idolatrous. Neither did the Apostles claim or pretend to exercise any temporal Authority over those whom they converted, nor denounce Persecution against Unbelievers, but recommended quite the contrary, such as Obedience, Humility, Persuasion, &c. The Sword may terrify, and, for a Time, may enforce an outward Shew of Compliance, nor fix a real Belief of what is required of such, contrary to what is against their own Opinion, and which is grounded on the Principles in which they have been educated, which, like a rough Piece of Glass, is not to be polished by Force, but by gentle and frequent rubbing. That inhuman Practice of forcing Mens Minds and Consciences by shedding of Blood, being at first set on Foot by Tyrants, who endeavoured to suppress the Growth of the Christian Faith; and which being therefore justly termed by the Christians a Persecution, ought not to be copied by the latter to the like Purposes in any Shape.

It was certainly a very ready Way of extirpating Idolatry, to depopulate a Country, and transplant it with Christians from another Part of the World; but this was neither doing Honour to God, nor saving of Souls. It was not increasing the Number

ber of the Faithful, nor bringing Sinners to Repentance; so far from that, it was not only destroying Soul and Body, to make them die in their Iniquity, but likewise destroying the Means whereby Christianity may take Root, and spread among thousands, by being communicated from one Province to another, in a peaceable and friendly Manner, which would soon have taken Effect; where it was obvious, that the Promoters of it had nothing else in View, but merely the Conversion of the People from Practices, which, in a little Time, would have appeared to themselves to have been inconsistent with Reason and human Nature. But the Vices of Covetousness, of boundless Ambition to rule, and of insatiable Desire after that alluring Metal Gold, the Produce of the Country, appearing to the *Indians* to be the principal Aim, and predominant Passion of the *Spaniards*, they from thence very justly apprehend, that whatever was at any Time urged in Favour of Religion, was no other than a Pretence for their unjust Intrusion among them; therefore it could not be expected that any real Converts could be made by mere Dint of Conquest; nor that any Obedience, or Resignation of the Inhabitants, could be deemed any other than what was a forced one, and which the present

sent Necessity they were under, and the natural Law of Self-Defence dictated to them, to dissemble towards the Conquerors, until such Time as they could have an Opportunity of throwing off the *Spanish* Yoke of Slavery, which was far more intolerable to them than the natural State of Subjection they were under to their own Governors or *Caziques*.

THE Emperor of *Moteczuma*, and all the *Indians*, wherever the *Spaniards* came, were very sensible of those Allurements which induced the latter to invade their Country; and therefore they ought to get rid of them by gratifying them for that Time with great Presents; for Instance, what was given to *Cortez* by Way of Contribution to his King, together with what the several *Caziques* presented him with in his Journeys through the Country, from Time to Time. But these Actions had quite the contrary Effect, and served to increase rather than to abate their Covetousness, especially when they saw the mighty Wealth of *Mexico*, and entertained Hopes of being soon Masters of that, and of the whole Country together. The chief Thing which contributed to render that Conquest so easy, was the Novelty of the Fire-Arms, and the Terror they struck into the *Indians*; which Advantages were pursued with

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so much Speed, that the others had not Time to reflect, nor Resolution to close in upon their Adversaries, whom such vast Numbers, as were the *Indians*, might have easily seized, before they could load their Pieces a second Time, were they not so much intimidated and surprized at the strange Effect of those fiery Weapons.

THUS stands the Claim of the *Spaniards* to *America*, under the Circumstances here mentioned, founded upon those Acts of Possession commenced by *Christopher Columbus*, in the Year 1492, and continued by Order of the King of *Castile*, until he became Master of the four Islands of *Cuba*, *St. Domingo*, *Puerto Rico*, and *Jamaica*, as already taken Notice of. The Enterprises of several private Adventurers and Fortune-Hunters after the Reduction of those Islands; and a small Part of the Isthmus of *Darien*, until that undertaking of *Hernan Cortez*, in the Year 1518, amounting to no publick Advantage, but to the enriching of such of the before-mentioned Adventurers or Free-Booters, who had the good Fortune to come off in a whole Skin, after murdering and pillaging such of the poor Natives, on the Islands and Continent, as they could by any Ways or Means get the better of. Which Proceedings, though they imprinted an implacable Aversion in  
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the *Indians* against the *Spaniards* in general, and brought an Odium upon *Spain* never to be wiped off: Yet, thereby such Information was obtained of the Nature of the Country and the People, that it put *Cortez* upon pursuing those Designs which he effected to the Purpose before-mentioned.

The Point now to be considered is, whether this his Conquest was justifiable or not, according to the Law of Nations, and Principles of Christianity? I don't mean by this, to put the Question to *Spain* for her Decision, because I must expect her Answer in the Affirmative; but as I have stated the whole Case, and as it appears from the *Spanish* Historians themselves, who have endeavoured to set out in the best Light they could, I put the Question to every unbiassed Reader, who will take upon his Conscience to speak his Sentiments freely, without Favour or Prejudice. In the mean while, I shall give my own Thoughts upon the Matter, and join some further Reasons for what I say, to those before-mentioned, which, I hope, will sufficiently support the Title of these Sheets.

FROM what has been already said it appears, that the Right claimed by the *Spaniards* to the *West-Indies*, by which I mean their Possessions on the Continent of *America*, and the Islands adjacent, is founded

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upon a Possession obtained by Conquest. It likewise appears, that that Conquest in general was not justifiable by the Law of Nations, nor by the Doctrine of Christianity. That such as it was, it was obtained under false Overtures, and pretended Acts of Peace and Friendship, by Way of cultivating good Neighbourhood, fair Correspondence, and mutual Commerce with the Natives. That those Acts of Hospitality, which were used by the *Indians* towards the *Spaniards*, whenever the latter came upon their Coasts, were covertly turned into Acts of Possession by the *Spaniards*; and, under Colour of erecting Shelter against the extreme Heat of the Sun, they suddenly fortified themselves on the Land, by Virtue of which, they pretended that the *Indians* had made a voluntary Submission, and Acknowledgment of Vassalage to *Spain*.

THAT whenever the *Indians* became sensible of those Impositions, and endeavoured to regain their Liberties and Properties, they were treated as Rebels in the most inhuman Manner. That in particular, as to the Reduction of the Empire of *Mexico* by *Cortez*: He had not even any Authority in the King's Name to prosecute that Enterprise. He was, in Effect, no other than an Impostor, a formidable Tyrant and Usurper;

Usurper; for he pretended to what he was not, an Ambassador; and in that Shape too, he advanced nothing but Falshoods, both in Respect of the Character he gave of his King, of himself, and of his Embassy. The Acknowledgments made to him by the Emperor *Motézuma*, were extorted from that Monarch whilst he was a Prisoner, and in Fear of his Life. And notwithstanding that, he complied with all *Cortez's* Desires, nay, did more than the other expected; in Consequence of which *Cortez* had promised to quit his Territories, yet he evaded so doing, and thereby justly forfeited those Obligations which *Motézuma* had laid himself under; in as much as the whole of what was agreed on between them, was reciprocally binding on each Party, as I observed before. As to a Right of Succession after *Motézuma's* Death, though that Part was one of those extorted Acknowledgments, yet it implied a Proviso, that *Cortez's* King, that great Monarch of the East, as he called him, was in himself the lawful Heir and Successor of *Queznalcole*, an antient Monarch of *Mexico*, and, as such Heirship and Succession was no other than downright Imposture and Romance, beneath the Dignity of a Catholick King to assume and pretend to, or to accept of by the Hands of that pretended Ambassador, in order to impose upon another



another Monarch, to defraud his lawful Successors of their just Right and Title to that Empire: Therefore, that Concession of *Motexuma* was in it self void, not only for that Reason, but for this further; that the Monarchs of *Mexico* being elective, it was not in *Motexuma's* Power to appoint a Successor, contrary to the Constitution and Law of that Nation; therefore, the People taking up Arms in Right of their free-elected King *Guatimosin*, after *Motexuma's* Death, as lawful Successor to him, cannot be called a Rebellion. Lastly, neither the King of *Castile*, nor any other foreign Prince, much less any private Persons, who were really destitute of that Pre-tence of Authority, had any lawful Call thither, to commit such execrable Murders, Robberies, and Devastations, under Pretence of introducing the Gospel, by paving its Way in such a horrid Manner, as could not but give Offence to God, who, knowing the Hearts of Mankind, saw his Name prophaned, and made a Screen for the Commission of those heinous Sins, which flowed from a malignant Source of Ambition and Covetousness. Upon the Whole, this pretended Right of *Spain*, to that Part of the World, is not to be looked upon in any other Light than as a Thing which any other Power has equal Right to attack and dis-

dispossess her of, without any Manner of Scruple or Reserve, provided, that in Consequence thereof, the Remains of the primitive Natives be duly instructed in the Christian Faith, and restored to their Liberty upon an equal Footing with other Christians.

AFTER concluding this Review of the *Spanish* Right, it comes next to say something respecting that of the *English*.

IN the former Part of this Discourse, it has been set forth how and when the Subjects of this Nation first went upon Discoveries of the *West-Indies*; and though it is allowed, exclusive of that Expedition and Settlement of *Madock ap Gweyneth's*, that through *Christopher Columbus* the *Spaniards* were the first *Europeans* in those latter Days, who got a Sight of, and settled in, the *West-Indies*, and next to them the *English*; yet the latter first set out upon a Discovery of the Continent twenty-two Years before *Cortez* did; the Discovery of *Newfoundland* being made in the Year 1495, and thence along the Coast to *Florida*, in the Year 1497; whereas *Cortez* set out not till the Year 1519, upon his *Mexican* Expedition. Furthermore, the *English* did not set out as tracing the Navigation of the *Spaniards*, or copying from their Charts, but, on the contrary, they first

first set out upon a North-west Course, and in Pursuance of the Intimation given to King Henry VII, by *Barbolomew Columbus*, by Order of his Brother *Christopher*, whose Instructions would have been put in Execution before the *Spaniards* had set out, but for the Misfortune which attended *Barbolomew* as before-mentiond: Nevertheless, the first Discovery of the Island of *Newfoundland* under that King's Patent, was but three Years next after *Christopher Columbus's* Discovery of the Island of *Cuba*; and the *English* Discovery of the Continent of *America*, extending from *Newfoundland* as far as to the Coast of *Florida*, was much ealier than the *Spaniards* had made any Discovery of the southerly Part of the same Continent, now called *New Spain*; in which, their first Settlement was only in a small Part of the Province of *Darien*, and was extended no farther till the Expedition of *Cortez* in 1519. Therefore, the *English* have a Right to assume to themselves the Honour and Advantages of being the first Discoverers of the Continent of *America*; and, according to the Manner of the *Spanish* Pretensions, the primitive sovereign Right of that Continent is vested in the Crown of *Great Britain*, by Virtue of that Discovery.

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THIS Argument, it is hoped, will be a sufficient Contutation of whatever can be advanced on the Part of *Spain*, in Favour of any Right she may pretend to have to the Continent of *America* in general, by the Virtue of the Discovery and Possession of the Island of *Cuba*, or of any other Islands in that Part of the World. And as to the Point of Right by actual Possession, either of Islands or Continent, the same will appear still stronger on the Side of the *English*.

THE Proofs, in this Behalf, are so notorious to the rest of the World, that I need not dwell long upon this Branch, but may even venture to refer it to the *Spaniards* themselves.

IN short, all the Settlements and Plantations made by the Subjects of *Great Britain*, as well on the Continent, as in the Islands belonging to it, were established by the Free Consent of the Natives, without any Artifice, Surprise, Threats, or Compulsion; and without any Vassalage acknowledged, or practised, whereby they were deprived either of Liberty or Property, or deceived in any Shape.

No pretended Ambassadors from a most mighty Monarch of the East, ever presumed to impose upon their Understanding, or to persuade them into a Belief of Things

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utterly false, in order to obtain the more easy Reception for such of the *English* as proposed to settle among them. Instead of Oppression, the *Indians* find Protection from them, and the meanest of them have Justice equally distributed between them and their *English* Neighbours. This is the State of the *English* Right of Possession in the *West-Indies*, a Right founded upon the Principles of Christianity, and the fundamental Laws of the *English* Nation. Few equal to them in Goodness, none excel them.

As for the Pretensions of the *French* Nation on the Continent, they amount to what they are at this present possessed of; which is, the Country of *Canada* on the River *St. Lawrence*, and all that Part called the *Louisiana*, or *New France*, on the Banks of the River *Mississippi*, which falls into the Gulf of *Mexico*, from whence they extend towards the Country of *Florida*.

THEY do not pretend, by what I can learn, to vye with the *English* in Point of Priority of Discovery; nor have they any Room to insist upon any such Thing, since the following List of Original Discoveries shew the Order of Time in which they have been respectively made, and by whom.

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Anno 1497. The Island of *Newfoundland* and the North Continent of *America*, in 58 Degrees of Latitude, and coasted from thence to the Southward, as far as the Land of *Florida*, by *Sebastian Cabot*, with two Ships furnished by King *Henry VII.*

Anno 1524. The Coast of *Florida*, to almost 58 Degrees of North Latitude, was re-coasted by *John de Verezano*, a *Florentine*, by Order of *Francis I.* King of *France.*

Anno 1527. *Cape Briton* was discovered in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* who sent out two Ships to *Newfoundland* at this Time.

Anno 1534. *Newfoundland* was the third Time visited by *James Carthier* of *St. Malo*, who then discovered the River *St. Lawrence.*

THE Order of Time, in the foregoing Discoveries, determines, at first View, the Right of Precedency; and this is certain, that *Cabot's* Discovery of the Continent was prior to the Discovery made of it by the *Spaniards*, which was not till five Years after *Columbus's* Discovery of the Island of *Cuba*, where *Americus Vespusus* discovered the Continent of *Brasil*, which from him was called *America.*

Now that I have concluded this Display of the *Spanish* Right to the *West-Indies*, and, as I hope, made a just Distinction between it and that of the *English*, according to my first Proposition, I shall, in the next Place, give a View of the Behaviour of the *Spaniards* in that New World, towards such as had the Misfortune to be in their Power; my Intention in this being to demonstrate, by those Acts of Cruelty and Treachery which they have been guilty of towards Fellow-Christians, that they were capable of acting no less against the poor naked *Indians*; and that from the Nature of their Conquests, it is therefore to be presumed, that the Accounts which some late Historians have given of their barbarous Treatment of the *Indians* were rather lessened than magnified; since it was in a Manner impossible for those Writers to come at an exact Knowledge of the whole of such their Behaviour, as well on Account of the Distance of the Place of Action, as that the Accounts which they received were transmitted from some of those concerned in those Expeditions, who, as they could not possibly conceal the whole, revealed only such Part of their Actions as were least blameable; not only for their own Credit's Sake, but to save the Honour of the *Spanish* Nation; which, maugre all their Precautions

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cautions, will never be able to wipe out the Stains of the Blood of the *Indians*, but they will still preserve their deepest Dye to all Posterity.

BEFORE that fortunate Discovery, if it may be so called, of *America*, the *Spaniards* were but little regarded in *Europe*; and the greatest Noise they made in the World was only what resulted from their own civil Dissentions, and their Conflicts with the *Moors*, from whom they imbibed some of their worst Principles, such as Murder, Cruelty, and implacable Desire of Revenge. Those of Jealousy, Pride, Covetousness, and Ambition to rule, seem to have been their own natural Predominants; but, blended with the before-named Vices, formed a Composition of Mind capable of disposing them to put in Execution the blackest Devices of *Satan*. The present Extent of the Kingdom of *Old Spain* was divided into petty Kingdoms, now Provinces, such as *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Leon*, &c. among which *Ferdinando* was King of *Castile*, as has been observed before, when *Columbus* commenced his Discoveries; and his Successor *Don Carlos of Austria*, in whose Name *Hernan Cortez* addressed the Emperor of *Mexico*, was that Most Mighty Monarch of the East.

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UPON those new Acquisitions of *Cortez*, and the Union of the *Spanish* Monarchy in the Reign of *Don Carlos*, the great Riches which were transmitted from *America* to *Old Spain*, had so elated the *Spaniards*, that then they began to despise all the rest of the World, and presumptuously took upon them to set down the moitive Limits of it's Division, in East and West Longitude, between themselves and the *Portuguese*, from the first Meridian of Longitude in one of the *Azores* Islands, respecting all past and future Discoveries; those in the East being allotted to the *Portuguese*, and those in the West to the *Spaniards*. From those Beginnings they entertained great Jealousies, according to their natural Disposition, of all neighbouring Nations, especially of those who were any way formidable at Sea, fearing, and not without Reason, that they should have powerful Competitors in making Discoveries, and of partaking of the beneficial Trade of the *West-Indies*, which they looked upon to be their sole Property: And as none gave them greater Umbrage in this Particular than the *English*, because in Fact they had been beforehand with the *Spaniards* in discovering the Continent, as before related, so none were made to feel the Weight of their Displeasure with that Shew of their Hatred as were the *English*, whenever

whenever they happened to fall into the other's Hands on the Coasts of *America*, either through the Misfortune of Shipwreck, or by being surprized by the *Spaniards* on Shore when trading with the Natives: For without any Declaration of War being made between the two Nations in *Europe*, the *Spaniards* always behaved in a hostile Manner towards such of the *English* Subjects as came in their Way in the *West-Indies*, which obliged the latter to make Refuges on the *Spaniards* in that Part of the World; and from hence arose their irreconcilable Hatred of the *English*, which seems rather to be increased than abated: Nor have the *French* escaped tasting of their Inhumanity likewise, when first they attempted to settle on Part of *Florida*, of which I shall give some Instances presently; though of late Years they are come to a better Understanding together, and, in all likelihood, will attempt to put in Practice that which formerly was only boasted of to be intended by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, that is, to exclude the *English* from reaping any Benefit out of the *West-Indies*, &c. ---

THE following Particulars of the Maltreatment of the *English* by the *Spaniards*, are abstracted out of the Journals of Voyages made by several Persons to the *West-Indies*;

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*Indies*; among which I thought fit not to pass by one or two remarkable Instances of Covetousness, which are thus related.

‘ Anno 1536. A Discovery of the rich  
‘ Country of *Guiana* in *Pern* was attempt-  
‘ ed by *Antonio Sedeno*, one of those *Span-  
‘ nish* Captains, who was engaged with  
‘ *Herera* and *Augustin Delgado* in the Con-  
‘ quest of *Trinidad*. He penetrated some  
‘ Provinces towards it with 500 chosen  
‘ Men, in which Expedition he got much  
‘ Gold, and took a great many *Indians*  
‘ Prisoners, whom he led away manacled  
‘ in Irons, of whom several died by the  
‘ Way; and the Tygers being so much  
‘ flesh’d with their Carcases, frequently  
‘ used to attack the *Spaniards*, insomuch,  
‘ that they had enough to do to defend  
‘ themselves against them. Neither this  
‘ Captain, nor the most Part of his Men,  
‘ ever returned out of the Country, but  
‘ perished in it, notwithstanding the Great-  
‘ ness of their Numbers.

FROM this Instance it may be reason-  
ably gathered, that the *Indians* were now  
fully apprized of the covetous Designs of  
the *Spaniards*, and by frequent Bickering  
with them, had improved in their military  
Practices; for *Cortez*’s Number, with which  
he first penetrated to *Mexico*, was much in-  
ferior to this of *Sedeno*’s, and yet he pre-  
vailed.

vailed in the Manner spoken of. The Causes of their different Successes I take to be, that *Cortez* made use more of secret Artifice, than of open Force; whereas *Sedeno* trusted to his chosen Numbers, with which he thought, comparatively with what *Cortez* had done, to do great Matters, but Providence disappointed him.

THE same *Delgado*, whom I mentioned just now, afterwards undertook the like Enterprize with fifty-six Soldiers; and, favoured with the Advantage of the Wars then subsisting between the *Indians* of the Vale, and those of the Mountains, he passed a great Way up, until he arrived in the Territories of a *Cazique*, named *Garammetal*, who entertained him very friendly, and presented him with some rich Jewels of Gold, half a Dozen Pages, ten young Slaves, and three beautiful young Women. In *Delgado's* Return out of that Country, he plundered the Inhabitants of all the Gold he could find, and seized all the *Indians* that could be laid hold of, and conveyed them in Irons to *Cubaga*, where he sold them for Slaves. Providence did not let this Inhumanity and Ingratitude go long unpunished; for this *Delgado* was afterwards shot in the Eye by an *Indian*, and soon after died of the Wound.



‘ Anno 1556. Robert Tomson, of Andover,  
 ‘ in Hampshire, Merchant, together with  
 ‘ another Englishman, one John Field, of  
 ‘ Seville, having obtained the King of  
 ‘ Spain’s Licence to go to the *West-Indies*,  
 ‘ proceeded accordingly in Company of the  
 ‘ Spanish Fleet; but their Ship was cast a-  
 ‘ way in the Bay of *Mexico*, and they  
 ‘ escaped on Shore naked, and within three  
 ‘ Days afterwards arrived at *St. John de*  
 ‘ *Ulua* in *New Spain*, in April 1556, desti-  
 ‘ tute of Apparel and every Thing else;  
 ‘ from whence they went to *La Vera*  
 ‘ *Cruz*, where they were relieved and  
 ‘ clothed by a rich Merchant of *Field’s*  
 ‘ Acquaintance, their Company being in  
 ‘ all eight Persons belonging to *Field’s* Fa-  
 ‘ mily, including *Tomson*. After a Month’s  
 ‘ Stay here, they set out for the City of  
 ‘ *Mexico*, and *Field* with three or more of  
 ‘ his Family died by the Way. *Tomson* got  
 ‘ into a Gentleman’s Service in *Mexico*,  
 ‘ Seigneur *Gonzalo Cerezo*, with whom  
 ‘ he lived upwards of a Year; at the End  
 ‘ of which he was, on private Accusation,  
 ‘ put into Prison. He remained there se-  
 ‘ ven Months without any Examination,  
 ‘ and then was exposed at an *Auto de Fe*,  
 ‘ in the High Church of *Mexico*, together  
 ‘ with one *Augustin Boacio*, an *Italian*, and  
 ‘ several others, having their *Bonitos* on  
 ‘ their

‘ their Backs, which is a Kind of Fool’s Coat,  
 ‘ with the Figure of St. Andrew’s Cross,  
 ‘ and painted with Figures of Devils, &c.  
 ‘ There the Criminals received their several  
 ‘ Sentences of Punishment, viz.

‘ The *Italian* was condemned to wear  
 ‘ his *Bonito* for Life, and to perpetual Imprisonment,  
 ‘ with Confiscation of all his Goods. *A material Article!* And *Tomson*  
 ‘ was to suffer the like for three Years.  
 ‘ For the Accomplishment of this, they  
 ‘ were immediately transmitted in Irons to  
 ‘ the Port of St. *John de Ulua*, in order to  
 ‘ be transported to *Old Spain*, to be there  
 ‘ deliver’d up to the Inquisitors of *Seville*,  
 ‘ for the fulfilling of their Sentences: But  
 ‘ the *Italian* fortunately made his Escape  
 ‘ at the Island of *Tercera*, and *Tomson* was  
 ‘ carried to *Seville*, where he suffered according  
 ‘ to his Sentence.’

As there was no just Foundation for this Proceeding,  
 nor any Examination, nor Conviction,  
 it shews the whole was a mere Pretence  
 or Colour only for punishing the Man,  
 and to intimidate others of his Nation  
 from going to that Part of the World,  
 least any Knowledge may be acquired of  
 the State of the Country, &c.

‘ In the Year 1565, Capt. *Rene Lau-*  
 ‘ *donniere* being settled with a Party of  
 ‘ *Frenchmen*, by Order of their King, on  
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‘ the Coast of *Florida*, they were surprized  
 ‘ in their Fort, on the 20th of *September*,  
 ‘ by a strong Party of *Spaniards*, under  
 ‘ the Command of *Don Pedro Melendes*,  
 ‘ who arrived on the Coast about three  
 ‘ Weeks before that with six great Ships  
 ‘ from *Old Spain*, and erected a Fort hard  
 ‘ by, and having killed several of the  
 ‘ *Frenchmen*, they took others Prisoners,  
 ‘ and, in cold Blood, hanged them up  
 ‘ upon several Trees, and put the follow-  
 ‘ ing Inscription in Writing over them,  
 ‘ viz. *I do not this as unto Frenchmen,*  
 ‘ *but as unto Pyrates.* Captain *Landon-*  
 ‘ *niere*, and some few of his Company  
 ‘ escaped, and got into Boats, and so got  
 ‘ off to Sea to one of their Ships, and re-  
 ‘ turned into *France*. This Piece of In-  
 ‘ humanity was revenged on the *Spaniards*  
 ‘ by one Captain *Gourges* the Year follow-  
 ‘ ing, who at his own Charge mann’d out  
 ‘ three Ships with 150 Soldiers and 80 Ma-  
 ‘ riners, and arriving in *Florida*, where he  
 ‘ was joined by the Natives, who com-  
 ‘ plained heavily of the Outrages of the  
 ‘ *Spaniards* towards them, he surprized and  
 ‘ took the three Forts which the latter had  
 ‘ erected on the River of *May*, in which  
 ‘ they had 400 Men distributed. He put  
 ‘ them all to the Sword, except fifteen,  
 ‘ whom he hanged up on the same Trees  
 ‘ whercon

‘ whereon the *Frenchmen* had been hanged,  
 ‘ and, in Retaliation, caused the following  
 ‘ Infcription to be put over their Heads,  
 ‘ viz. *I do not this as unto Spaniards, nor*  
 ‘ *as unto Mariners, but as unto Traitors,*  
 ‘ *Robbers, and Murderers.*

THIS Resolution of the *French* Nation  
 to use the *Spaniards* in their own Kind,  
 has, in all Probability, prevented their Con-  
 tinuance of those Acts of Cruelty towards  
 the *French*: Had the *English* also made  
 the like Reprisals on them, whenever they  
 laid hold of them, possibly it would have  
 cured them of their Inhumanity towards  
 the Subjects of this Nation; but, on the  
 contrary, I have not met with any one  
 Return of that Kind, as yet, made by the  
*English*, notwithstanding the many Treach-  
 eries and Cruelties, &c. acted towards  
 them by the *Spaniards*, of which the fol-  
 lowing are some further Instances.

‘ In the Year 1568, Sir *John Hawkins*,  
 ‘ of *Plymouth*, undertook a Voyage with  
 ‘ six Ships for the Coasts of *Guinea* and  
 ‘ the *West-Indies*; and having suffer’d great-  
 ‘ ly by Storms, and being in want of Pro-  
 ‘ visions, they were forced to put into the  
 ‘ Port of *St. John de Ulua*, in the *Galph*  
 ‘ of *Mexico*, where the *Spanish* Fleet being  
 ‘ then expected, the Towns-people sup-  
 ‘ posed these to be the same; thereupon,  
 ‘ some



78 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

‘ some of the principal Men of the Town  
‘ came on Board the *English* Ships, where  
‘ finding their Mistake, they were much  
‘ surprized at first; but perceiving that the  
‘ *English* required nothing else but Victuals  
‘ for their Money, they were easy. At  
‘ the same Time there were twelve *Spanish*  
‘ Vessels in the Harbour, which had on  
‘ Board Two Hundred Thousand Pounds  
‘ in Gold and Silver; all which Sir *John*  
‘ suffer’d to be landed, and only detained  
‘ two Persons of Esteem as Hostages for his  
‘ Messengers that he sent Post to the Pre-  
‘ sident and Council at *Mexico*, which was  
‘ two hundred Miles off, for Licence to be  
‘ victualled for his Money, as Friends to  
‘ King *Philip* of *Spain*; and to obtain an  
‘ Order, that at the Arrival of the *Spanish*  
‘ Fleet, which was daily expected, there  
‘ might a good Understanding and Friend-  
‘ ship be maintained between them and the  
‘ *English* Fleet. Next Day, after dispatch-  
‘ ing the Courier to *Mexico*, the *Spanish*  
‘ Fleet, being thirteen great Ships, appear-  
‘ ed at the Mouth of the Harbour; where-  
‘ upon Sir *John* dispatched a Messenger to  
‘ the Commander of the *Spanish* Fleet, to  
‘ let him understand, that before he en-  
‘ tered the Port, which he could not pre-  
‘ tend to do against Sir *John Hawkins*’s  
‘ Consent, because of the narrow Passage  
‘ into

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## Spanish Cruelty display'd.

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into it, it was necessary to ascertain Conditions of Peace to be kept between the two Fleets. Sir *John* chose to run the Risk of what might ensue, in case the *Spaniards* should, according to Custom, be guilty of any Acts of Treachery, rather than inevitably to be the Cause of their Destruction by Shipwreck, should he keep the Harbour against them, there being no other Port of Safety upon all the Coasts thereabouts. The Messenger returned from the *Spanish* Fleet with an Account, that a new Viceroy from *Spain*, *Don Martin de Henriquez*, was on Board, who, having then the sole Authority by Sea and Land in those Parts, sent Word to Sir *John* to send his Conditions, and that on his Part they should be favourably granted and performed; at the same Time saying, He had heard along the Coast of the honourable Behaviour of the *English*, both there and in the Port. Sir *John* however sent his Conditions, which were ratified by the Viceroy under his Hand and Seal within three Days, and which were, *That the English should be furnished with Victuals for their Money, and Licence to sell as much Wares as would supply their Wants: That ten Ho- stages on each Side should be given; and, during the Abode there of the English, they should*

80 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

“Should remain in Possession of the Island  
“which forms that Harbour, and of the  
“Ordnance that was planted in it, which  
“was eleven Pieces of Brass; and that no  
“Spaniard should land in the Island with  
“any Kind of Weapon. After Conclusion  
“of the Articles, Notice was given, by  
“Sound of Trumpet, to keep the Peace  
“upon Pain of Death on either Side. ---  
“Hereupon, the Spanish Fleet entered the  
“Port on Monday the 20th of September,  
“and each Side saluted the other as usual.  
“The Officers and Men of each Fleet spent  
“the two ensuing Days in placing the re-  
“spective Ships of each Fleet by them-  
“selves; but the Spaniards had, it seems,  
“resolved to fall upon the *English* the next  
“Thursday at Noon. In the mean Time  
“it was observed, that they had received a  
“Supply of One Thousand Men from the  
“Main-Land, and on Thursday Morning  
“they were seen to be shifting of Weapons  
“from Ship to Ship, planting and bending  
“of Ordnance from their Ships to the  
“Island where the *English* kept a Guard;  
“and several Companies of Men, more than  
“was necessary, passing to and fro. This  
“Behaviour causing great Suspicion in the  
“*English*, Sir John sent to the Viceroy to  
“know the Meaning of it; to which he  
“answer’d, That he would be their Defence  
“from

' from all Villanies, and thereupon sent  
 ' immediate Orders for removing all Things  
 ' suspicious. But Sir *John* not being satis-  
 ' fied with this Answer, as suspecting a  
 ' great Number of Men to be concealed in  
 ' a great Ship of 900 Tons, which moor'd  
 ' next to the *Minion*, an *English* Ship, sent  
 ' the Master of the *Jesus*, another of his  
 ' Ships, to the Viceroy, to be satisfied whe-  
 ' ther the Fact was so or not. The Vice-  
 ' roy now perceiving that the Treason must  
 ' be discovered, detained the Master, blew  
 ' the Trumpet for a Signal, and on all  
 ' Sides set upon the *English*. Such of those  
 ' last as were in the Island endeavour'd to  
 ' get on Board their Ships for Refuge and  
 ' Succour; but the *Spaniards* being pro-  
 ' vided afore-hand, suddenly landed Multi-  
 ' tudes in all Places from their Ships, and  
 ' killed all the *English* that were on Shore  
 ' without Mercy, except a few that escap'd  
 ' on Board the *Jesus*. The Three Hun-  
 ' dred Men that were hid in the great Ship  
 ' attack'd the *Minion*, but were repuls'd,  
 ' and she got clear of them. Then they  
 ' attacked the *Jesus*, as likewise did the  
 ' two other *Spanish* Ships at the same Time,  
 ' but she likewise got clear of them with  
 ' great Difficulty, and Loss of several of  
 ' her Men. Then the *Minion* and *Jesus*  
 ' cannonaded the *Spanish* Ships, and with-  
 ' out

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No. 6.



‘ in an Hour’s Time, it was supposed that  
 ‘ they sunk the Admiral and another great  
 ‘ Ship, and burnt the Vice-Admiral, so  
 ‘ that they could receive but little Annoy-  
 ‘ ance from the *Spaniards* Ships. In the  
 ‘ mean time the *Spaniards* possessed them-  
 ‘ selves of all the Guns in the Island, with  
 ‘ which they cut the Masts and Yards of  
 ‘ the *Jesus*, insomuch that there was no  
 ‘ Hopes of carrying her away, and sunk  
 ‘ the small Ships. Then they sent two  
 ‘ Fire-ships towards the *English* Vessels with  
 ‘ the Current, upon which the *Minion*’s  
 ‘ Crew put off with their Ship, and left  
 ‘ the *Jesus* and several of her Men to the  
 ‘ Mercy of the *Spaniards*.

‘ The General, Sir *John Hawkins*, with  
 ‘ Difficulty got into the *Minion*, and hav-  
 ‘ ing then Two Hundred Men on Board,  
 ‘ put to Sea in a shatter’d Condition, and  
 ‘ suffer’d extremely for Want of Victuals  
 ‘ for the Space of Fourteen Days. At last,  
 ‘ having at the Desire of his Men set an  
 ‘ Hundred and Fourteen of them on Shore,  
 ‘ in the Bottom of the Bay of *Mexico*, he,  
 ‘ with much Difficulty, arrived in *England*,  
 ‘ the 25th of *January* following.

The further Cruelty of the *Spaniards*  
 will appear in the following Account of  
 some of the same Crew, that were set on  
 Shore as above-mentioned, as related by  
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*Miles Phillips*, Sailor, and *Job Hartop*, the  
Gunner, belonging to the Ship *Jesus*.  
This forlorn Company of Men tra-  
velled through the Country Northwards  
for the Space of seven Days, before they  
arrived at the River *Panuco*; and in their  
Way were set upon several Times by the  
*Indians*, who at first mistaking them for  
*Spaniards* killed nine of the Company,  
and stripped those quite naked who wore  
any colour'd Clothes; in which Condition  
the Remainder that surviv'd were taken  
by a Party of *Spaniards* at that River,  
by whom they were conducted Prisoners  
to the Village of *Panuco*, about a Mile  
distant from where they were taken. On  
their Arrival there, the Governor threat-  
ned to hang them all, and used them  
with great Severity, having first taken  
from the Men, who had any Money left,  
all that was found upon them; after  
which he ordered them into a little House  
like a Hog-stye, where they had like to  
be smother'd, being kept there for three  
Days. Such as were wounded by the  
*Indians* begged the Assistance of the Sur-  
geons, but were refused it, the Governr  
and others telling them they were *Englisb*  
Dogs, and that the Hangman should soon  
ease them of their Pains. On the fourth  
Day after, they were all bound with new

' Halsters two and two, and in that Man-  
 ' ner were conducted to the City of *Mexi-*  
 ' *co*, ninety Leagues distant, under a Guard  
 ' of *Spaniards* and *Indians* all armed. This  
 ' Guard was commanded by two *Spaniards*,  
 ' one was a pretty antient and courteous  
 ' Man, but the other a young Fellow, void  
 ' of all Humanity, who frequently knock-  
 ' ed down the poor Men with his Javelin,  
 ' if they did not hasten their March ac-  
 ' cording to his Mind, and reviled them in  
 ' *Spanish*, saying, *Marchad, marchad In-*  
 ' *gleks Perros*, which is, *March, march*  
 ' *on, you English Dogs.* Being arrived at  
 ' *Mexico*, where they found several others of  
 ' their Countrymen, who had been taken  
 ' Prisoners in the Fight at *St. John de Urd.*  
 ' In the mean Time the Vice-Roy, who  
 ' was the same that acted so treacherously  
 ' by *Sir Osborn Hawkins*, used all possible  
 ' Devices to have them all hanged, but the  
 ' City and the Council would not con-  
 ' sent to it; upon which, after their being  
 ' six Months in *Mexico*, he ordered them  
 ' all to be sent to the Town of *Testuco*,  
 ' to eight Leagues from thence; there to be  
 ' kept Prisoners to hard Labour in the  
 ' *Oblivados*, a Place not unlike the Houses  
 ' of Correction here in *England*, where  
 ' they were almost famished. There they  
 ' con-

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' continued two Months, until some of  
' them having broke Prison, and being re-  
' taken, they were all sent back to *Mexico*,  
' and kept at Labour in the Vice-Roy's  
' Garden for four Months. Here they found  
' the *English* Gentlemen who were given  
' for Hostages at *St. John de Ulua*; also  
' *Robert Barret*, the Master of the Ship  
' *Jesus*. At the four Months end, those  
' Gentlemen and *Barret* were removed to  
' a Prison in the Vice-Roy's House, from  
' whence he sent *Anthony Goddard*, and  
' some others of the *English* Prisoners,  
' home to *Old Spain*, with *Lucon* the Ge-  
' neral that took them Prisoners. In two  
' Years afterwards, viz. in 1570, he sent  
' *Job Hartop*, *Thomas Barret*, *William*  
' *Carcase*, *John Beare*, *Edward Rider*,  
' *Geoffrey Giles*, and *Richard*, the Master's  
' Boy, together with the Gentlemen that  
' were Hostages, to *Old Spain* likewise,  
' under the Care of *Don Juan de Velasco*  
' *de Warre*, General of the *Spanish* Fleet;  
' where I shall leave them in their Voyage,  
' and return to give an Account of the  
' Disposition which was made of *Phillips*,  
' *Tomson*, and others, who were detained  
' in *Mexico*: For, in Conclusion, what  
' befall those in *Mexico*, and in *Old Spain*,  
' is very tragical; but the Scene being now  
di-



‘ divided, obliges me likewise to divide the  
 ‘ the Relation of it accordingly.’

‘ The Reason for this Division of the Pri-  
 ‘ soners seems to be, that the Vice-Roy of  
 ‘ Mexico having used his Endeavours to take  
 ‘ away their Lives, under Colour of Law,  
 ‘ and being disappointed, resolved to effect  
 ‘ it, if possible, by the Help of the Inquisi-  
 ‘ tion: For that Purpose he caused them to  
 ‘ pass an Examination with the Clergy, and  
 ‘ such as could any Way be charged with  
 ‘ what they called Heresy, were reserved for  
 ‘ Judgment and Execution in *Mexico*; but  
 ‘ such as they could not entrap with their  
 ‘ Questions, were sent into *Old Spain*, to the  
 ‘ Inquisition at *Saville*; and this was the  
 ‘ real Cause of their Separation.

‘ When the Prisoners were removed from  
 ‘ the Vice-Roy’s House, at the End of the  
 ‘ four Months before-mentioned, they that  
 ‘ were destined to abide in *Mexico*, were,  
 ‘ by Proclamation, delivered over in Sla-  
 ‘ very to such Gentlemen as pleased to re-  
 ‘ ceive them, upon Condition of their be-  
 ‘ ing bound to have them forth-coming  
 ‘ before the Justices, in a Month after No-  
 ‘ tice given; among which Number was  
 ‘ *Miles Phillips*.

‘ Those Prisoners thus disposed of, lived  
 ‘ very comfortably for three or four Years,  
 ‘ their

' their Employ being to wait on their Mas-  
 ' ters Persons, for no *Spaniard* will be Ser-  
 ' vant to another in that Country, and to  
 ' oversee the Negroes in the Mines; in  
 ' which Services, several of them grew  
 ' rich, each Man's Wages being 300 *Pezos*  
 ' a Year, which is to the Amount of Sixty  
 ' Pounds Sterling, besides several Advan-  
 ' tages which accrued to them out of the  
 ' Mines; so that some of them were worth  
 ' three or four thousand *Pezos* a Man.  
 ' Thus they continued in a very happy Si-  
 ' tuation, until the Inquisition called upon  
 ' them in the Year 1574; at which Time,  
 ' it being fully established in *Mexico*, very  
 ' much against the Inclination of the In-  
 ' habitants, the poor *Englishmen* were, by  
 ' this Time, after six Years Bondage,  
 ' thought to be grown rich enough to  
 ' make Prizes of, and to prevent their car-  
 ' rying any of the Wealth of the Country  
 ' out of it.

' The chief Inquisitor was *Don Pedro*  
 ' *Moya de Contreras*, *John De Bovilla* his  
 ' Companion, *John Sanches* the Fiscal,  
 ' and *Pedro de los Rios* the Secretary. A  
 ' Proclamation being issued out for all *En-*  
 ' *glishmen* to be sent forth to *Mexico* in safe  
 ' Custody, under severe Penalties; they  
 ' were soon picked up, and all their Effects  
 ' seized to the Inquisitor's Use, and the  
 ' Men

# 88 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

‘ Men were distributed into several loath-  
 ‘ some dark Dungeons in *Mexico*, by two  
 ‘ in a Place, without ever being suffered  
 ‘ to see one another, or to know what be-  
 ‘ came of their Companions for a Year  
 ‘ and a half; within which Time they  
 ‘ were often examined, as *Miles Phillips*  
 ‘ has since learned, for he now speaks for  
 ‘ himself, before the Inquisitors only, and  
 ‘ closely questioned about Transubstantia-  
 ‘ tion, whereunto *Phillips* and some others  
 ‘ answered according to the Belief of their  
 ‘ Examiners, or otherwise nothing but cer-  
 ‘ tain Death would have ensued. About  
 ‘ three Months before the Inquisitors pro-  
 ‘ ceeded to Judgment, the Prisoners were  
 ‘ cruelly racked and tortured, and some  
 ‘ were forced to charge themselves, by  
 ‘ Confession, with that which afterwards  
 ‘ cost them their Lives. For the Inquisi-  
 ‘ tors wanted to make some Examples of  
 ‘ Severity, and thus pitched upon the poor  
 ‘ innocent *Englismen* to be the Objects of  
 ‘ their Cruelty.

‘ When that Court was thus prepared  
 ‘ with Victims, they proceeded to Judg-  
 ‘ ment and Execution, on a Scaffold in  
 ‘ the midst of the City, in great Forma-  
 ‘ lity, where the following Sentences were  
 ‘ pronounced, and put in Execution, *viz.*

‘ I. Roger,

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Roger,

‘ 1. Roger, the chief Armourer of the  
‘ Ship *Jefus*, to receive three hundred  
‘ Stripes on Horfeback, and to continue  
‘ a Slave in the Gallies for ten Years.  
‘ 2. *John Gray*; 3. *John Broene*; 4. *John*  
‘ *Rider*; 5. *John Moon*; 6. *James Collier*;  
‘ and, 7. *Thomas Broene*, to receive two  
‘ hundred Stripes each, on Horfeback, and  
‘ to remain Slaves in the Gallies for eight  
‘ Years.

‘ 8. *John Keyes*, to have one hundred  
‘ Stripes on Horfeback, and to serve in the  
‘ Gallies for six Years.

‘ Then fifty-three others were called se-  
‘ verally, and received the like Judgments,  
‘ some more and some less.

‘ 62. *Miles Phillips* to serve in a Mona-  
‘ stery five Years without Stripes, and to  
‘ wear a Benito, or Fool’s Coat, all the  
‘ Time.

‘ 63. *John Story*; 64. *Richard Williams*;

‘ 65. *David Alexander*; 66. *Robert Cooke*;

‘ 67. *Paul Horfewell*; and, 68. *Thomas*

‘ *Hull*, to serve in Monasteries without  
‘ Stripes, some for three and some for four  
‘ Years, and to wear the Benito during the  
‘ Time.

‘ 69. *George Liveby*; 70. *Peter Mom-*  
‘ *frie*; and, 71. *Cornelius*, an *Irisbman*,  
‘ were sentenced to be burned to Ashes,  
‘ which was instantly executed.

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‘ The rest were carried back to the Pri-  
 ‘ sons, and next Day received their Lashes  
 ‘ accordingly; being carried naked from  
 ‘ the middle upwards throughout the City,  
 ‘ and whipped with long Whips-as they  
 ‘ went along the Streets, being preceded  
 ‘ by some of the Inquisitors and two Criers;  
 ‘ which last proclaimed their being *English*  
 ‘ Dogs, Lutherans, Enemies to God, whilst  
 ‘ the Inquisitors ordered the Executioners  
 ‘ to lay on, and strike those *English* Here-  
 ‘ tics. After this, such as were condem-  
 ‘ ed to the Gallies were into *Old Spain* for  
 ‘ that Purpose, and *Miles Phillips*, with  
 ‘ the other six that were condemned to  
 ‘ Servitude in Monasteries, were accord-  
 ‘ ingly disposed of in *Mexico*, till they  
 ‘ served out their respective Terms.

‘ *Miles Phillips* afterwards made his  
 ‘ Escape out of the Country, on the South-  
 ‘ Sea Side, in a *Spanish* Ship, and got to  
 ‘ *Old Spain*, and thence home to *England*,  
 ‘ in *February* 1582.

I shall now proceed to relate *Job Har-*  
*top's* Fate, with some of those that were  
 sent with him into *Old Spain*.

‘ In the Year 1570, the Fleet failed  
 ‘ from *St. John de Ulua*, and being arrived  
 ‘ at *St. Lucar* in *Spain*, *Hartop* and the  
 ‘ other Prisoners were sent to the *Contra-*  
 ‘ *tation-House* in *Seville*; from whence,  
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Spanish Cruelty display'd. ○ 91

after a Year's Imprisonment, six others,  
with *Hartop*, made their Escapes; but  
five of them, of which *Hartop* was one,  
were retaken, and were secured in Iron  
Stocks for a Fortnight. Then they were  
removed to the great Prison-House in  
*Seville*, and after a Month's Confinement  
there, were removed to the Castle of the  
Inquisition-House in *Triana*, where they  
continued a whole Year; at the End of  
which they were brought to an *Auto de*  
*Fe* in *Seville*, to receive their several  
Judgments, which were thus pronounced.  
1. *Robert Barret*, and 2. *John Gil-*  
*bert*, were sentenced to be burnt to Ashes,  
which was immediately executed.

3. *Job Hartop*, and 4. *John Bone*,  
were condemned to the Gallies for ten  
Years; after that, to be brought to the  
Inquisition-House, to have the Benito put  
on their Backs, and from thence to per-  
petual Imprisonment without Remedy.

5. *Thomas Marks*, and 6. *Thomas El-*  
*lis*, to serve in the Gallies eight Years,  
and 7. *Humphrey Roberts*, and 8. *John*  
*Emery*, to serve in the same five Years.  
After this they were carried back to the  
same Prison, and next Day, *John Har-*  
*top*, and the rest, were sent to the Gallies,  
where they were chained four and four

92 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

‘together! Their daily Allowance was  
‘twenty-six Ounces of coarse black Biscuit  
‘and Water. Their yearly Clothing was  
‘two Shirts each, two Pair of coarse Can-  
‘vas Breeches, a red Coat of coarse Cloth,  
‘and a Gown of Hair with a Friar’s Hood.  
‘Their Lodging was on the bare Boards,  
‘and the Banks of the Gallies. Their  
‘Heads and Beards were shaved once a  
‘Month; and for Hunger, Thirst, Cold,  
‘and Stripes, they never were in want of.  
‘Hartop served twelve Years in the Gal-  
‘lies, being two Years above his Time  
‘prescribed, at the End of which he was  
‘sent to the Inquisition-House in *Seville*  
‘again, where he put on the Benito, and  
‘was sent to the everlasting Prison, where  
‘he remained four Years, and, by great  
‘Interest, upon paying Ducats, obtained  
‘his Enlargement, but served *Hernando de*  
‘*Soria*, the Treasurer of the King’s Mint,  
‘for the Term of seven Years, in Return  
‘for his lending him the fifty Crowns.  
‘He afterwards got off at *St. Lucar*, on  
‘Board an *English* Ship, in *December*  
‘1590, and returned to *England*, after  
‘suffering twenty-three Years in the Man-  
‘ner afore-mentioned; where, on his Ar-  
‘rival, he was sent by Mr. *Muns*, the  
‘Lieutenant of *Portsmouth*, to the Earl of  
‘*Sussex*,

' *Sussex*, who ordered his Secretary to take  
' his Examination in Writing of the Whole,  
' as before related.

After this Manner have the *Spaniards*  
behaved towards the *English*, from Time  
to Time; ever since the Discovery of *Ame-*  
*rica*, hoping, by this Usage, to deter the  
latter from pursuing their Discoveries in  
that Part of the World; and in such Cases,  
where through Misfortunes of Shipwreck,  
or other Accidents, the *English* have un-  
happily fallen into their Hands, and that  
there was no lawful Colour for immediate-  
ly depriving them of their Lives or Liber-  
ties, there was no Difficulty in compassing  
one or other of those Ends in the Court of  
Inquisition; which is the Reason why so  
few of our Sailors are ever heard of more,  
after being taken by the *Spaniards*.

For further Instances of the Treachery  
and Cruelty of the *Spaniards* in *America*,  
I shall proceed according to order of Time,  
as hitherto.

' Captain *Whiddon*, who, in the Year  
' 1595, accompanied Sir *Walter Raleigh*  
' in the Discovery of *Guiana*, happening  
' to be at the Island of *Trinidad* the Year  
' before, viz. 1594, left his Pinnace at  
' *Puerto de los Espannoles*, to go seek for  
' an *English* Ship, the *Edward Bonaven-*  
' *ture*, which he heard had arrived at the  
' Island



94 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

‘ Island the Day before from the *East-Indies*. In his Absence, *Don Antonio de Borreo*, the Governor of *Trinidad*, sent a Canoe aboard the Pinnace, only with *Indians* and Dogs, to invite the Company to go with them into the Woods to kill a Deer, which the Men foolishly complied with; but they were no sooner about half Musket-shot Distance from the landing Place, but they were surprized by an Ambuscade of the Governor’s Soldiers, who killed them all, being eight in Number; tho’ the Governor had promised Captain *Whiddon*, at his Departure, that the Men should freely have Wood and Water with Safety.

‘ The Year following, viz. 1595, when *Sir Walter Raleigh* touched at the same Island of *Trinidad*, in his Way toward *Guiana*, he had further Confirmations of *Berre’s* Treachery and Inhumanity; for though he feigned a friendly Behaviour towards *Sir Walter*, yet he gave Orders throughout the Island, that, upon Pain of Death, no *Indian* should come on Board to trade with the *Englishmen*, and had two of them executed for it; and likewise he sent for a Reinforcement of Soldiers to *Margarita* and *Cumana*, in order to give *Sir Walter* a Farewel at parting; but *Sir Walter* was before-hand with

' with him, both in Revenge of his pre-  
 ' sent Dealing, and his former Treachery  
 ' to Captain *Whiddon*, for he took and  
 ' burnt his Town of *St. Joseph*, and brought  
 ' away *Berreo* Prisoner. During Sir *Wal-*  
 ' *ter's* being there, the *Indians* used to  
 ' steal on Board his Ship every Night,  
 ' and make heavy Complaints of *Berreos*  
 ' Usage towards them, how he divided the  
 ' Land among his Soldiers, and made the  
 ' *Caziques*, or antient Lords, to be their  
 ' Slaves. That he kept them in Chains,  
 ' and dropped their naked Bodies with  
 ' burning Bacon; and such other Tor-  
 ' ments; of which Sir *Walter* was con-  
 ' vinced when he took the Town, for he  
 ' found five of those Lords in one Chain,  
 ' almost dead of Famine, and wasted with  
 ' Torments.

Through the whole of this Narrative,  
 it very plainly appears what Inhumanities  
 were practised by the *Spaniards* in former  
 Times, as well as the present; yet we have  
 always been pretty even with them. In  
 the Time of Old *Oliver*, the following  
 Account of a Victory over *Spain* was pub-  
 lished by his Order; which runs thus:

Seven Ships in the Service of the King  
 of *Spain*, being four of the King's own  
 Fleet, and three Merchants, coming from  
 the *West-Indies*, most of them richly laden  
 with

96 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
with Gold, Silver, Pearls, and other Commodities, viz. the Admiral, the Marquis del Puerto, General; the Vice-Admiral, a Galeon, Don Francisco de Esqueval Commander: The Rear-Admiral, a Galeon, Don Francisco del Hayo, Commander; a Ship commanded by Captain Juan Rodrigues Calderon; a Ship commanded by Captain Juan de la Torre; a small Man of War, and a Vessel of Advice, from the Vice-Roy of Mexico to Spain. They did, in 58 Days, proceed so far as within a few Leagues of Cadix without making Land, or touching at any Place during the Voyage, having in their Way betwixt the Western-Islands and Masagam, in Africa, seized upon a small Portugal Ship as a Prize, by whom receiving a false Information, that the Spaniards had beaten the English Fleet from off their Coast a Month before, they had sailed with Confidence towards Cadix, as not expecting Opposition. The great Party of the English Fleet were, at this Time, gone to the Bay of Wyers, in Portugal (where they arrived the 11th of September last) to recruit their Wants; and to be in a Way of farther Orders; the Generals leaving behind them a Squadron of seven Ships (to have an Eye upon Cadix) under the Command of Stayner, Commander of the Speaker-Frigat; which

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## Spanish Cruelty display'd.

97

which Squadron, on the 8th of September last, plying to Sea (being forced thereto by strong Westerly Winds) did, at the Evening of that Day, discover the said *Spanish* Fleet, five or six Leagues to the Westward of *Cadiz*; and the Approach of Night denying Opportunity of present Action, they endeavoured to fall in with the next Day; which they accordingly did, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, they seeming to the *Spaniards* to be Fisher-Boats: But there being a fresh Gale that Night, all but three of our Squadron were to the Leeward, so could not presently come in, and finding it to be the *Spanish* Fleet come from the *Indies*, the *Speaker*, the *Bridge-man*, and the *Plymouth* Frigates, not thinking it adviseable to stay for the rest of the Squadron (they being within four Leagues of *Cadiz*) engaged with the Fleet, and a sharp Dispute there was betwixt them. The Admiral being a small Ship, and it being conceived that the placing the Flag upon her might be in Policy to divert us from attending the Ships of better Value, they slighted her, and suffered her (with the *Portugal* Prize to go into *Cadiz-Bay*, where (as is said) she was run on Shore and sunk, being reported to have in her 600,000 Pieces of Eight. The Vice-Admiral being reported to have in

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her 600,000 Pieces of Eight, besides, in Jewels and Plate upon Account of the Marquis of *Badex*, to the Value of 500,000 Pieces of Eight more, having fought six Hours, was taken by our Ships, and afterwards set on Fire by the *Spaniards* themselves, and so burnt down and sunk, and in her were destroyed 110 Men, the Principal of whom was the Marquis of *Badex*, who, with his Wife and eldest Daughter, were burnt. The Rear-Admiral was taken, and remains in our Possession. The Ship under Command of Captain *Juan Rodrigues Calderon*, which was said to have in her Sugar, Tobacco, and Plate, to the Value of 600,000 Pieces of Eight, was taken, and in the bringing off was, by an Accidental Fire, burnt and sunk. The Ship under Command of Captain *Juan de la Torres*, with 12,000 *West-India* Hides, and some Quantity of Sugar, is taken, and in our Possession. The small Man of War having in her the like Lading with the last mentioned; and the *Advice* Vessel, being of no Force or Lading, are said to escape into *Gibraltar*. The Value of what is taken and possessed by us is not justly known, but, by the Calculation of the *Spaniards*, there are taken and lost about 9,000,000 of Pieces of Eight, besides the said Ships and their Ladings. There

There are many Prisoners taken, 350 being found in the Rear-Admiral, and about 90 saved out of the Vice-Admiral; among them there are the eldest Son, a younger Son, and two Daughters of the said Marquis (besides a Child) as also *Don Diego de Villa-Alva*, the Governor of the *Havana*, and several others of Quality, and Spanish Merchants: And as all this was done without the Loss of one Vessel of the *English*, so it pleased the Wisdom of God to chuse to effect so great a Work by a little Force, as also by suffering the Enemy to be foolishly insnared into a presumptuous Confidence by an Enemy's Information, on which they so relied, that they neglected the haling of a Vessel which came from *San Lucar*, and might have informed them of the Truth.

Besides the aforesaid Narrative, the ensuing Relation was received from the said Marquis *Badex's* eldest Son, after he was taken Prisoner. "The *Spaniards* having "exercised monstrous Cruelties upon the "Natives of *Peru*, where the said Marquis, for 14 Years, governed under the "King of *Spain* (having his Residence at "Lima, the chief City of the Kingdom) "by oppressing them in their Concerns, "Persons and Estates (even those who are "accounted Freemen, and profess the *Romish* Religion) which made them to

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100 OLD ENGLAND for *Ever*; or,

“ groan under their Burdens: Their Cries  
“ thereof came, at last to the Ears of the  
“ LORD; so that about five Months since,  
“ presently after the Marquis's Departure  
“ from *Peru*, there happened the most fearful  
“ Earthquakes, and raining of Fire  
“ from Heaven in *Peru*, have ever been  
“ heard of in the World: Infomuch, that  
“ whole City of *Lima* is swallow'd up (as  
“ is also the Island of *Callao*) in which  
“ there perished about 11,000 *Spaniards*,  
“ and not above 100 *Indians* with them.  
“ The King of *Spain* having also lost by  
“ those Earthquakes, &c. to the Amount  
“ of 100 Millions of Pieces of Eight in Silver  
“ Bars ready wrought up. The famous  
“ Mines and Mountains of *Potosi* are likewise  
“ destroy'd, so that there are no more  
“ Hills to be seen there, nor any farther  
“ Possibility of having Gold or Silver in  
“ *Peru*. ” --- This Relation, tho' very wonderful,  
“ is affirm'd to be true by the aforesaid Relator.

The young Spark (probably with a View of faring the better) put a notorious Bite upon the Captors; nothing like this having ever happened to the Mines of *Potosi*.

As all former Attempts of the *Spaniards* have been hitherto fruitless, 'tis hoped their Present will meet with no better Fortune.

We shall now give a short History of their intended Invasion in the Year 1588. PHI-

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## Spanish Cruelty display'd. 101

PHILIP II. King of Spain, having carried on a furious War against the revolted *Netherlanders*, for more than twenty Years successively, with little Advantage to himself, thought it necessary once more to attack them by Sea, as he had at several Times attempted in vain. In order thereto, it was necessary to raise a greater Force than ever, especially as the *English* were now his professed Enemies.

AFTER mature Deliberation with his gravest Counsellors, it was judg'd requisite first to invade *England*, he having been perswaded by his Secretary *Escovedo*, as also by several other well-experienced *Spaniards*, and many *Flemings*, and Fugitive *English*, that to conquer the said Realm was much less difficult than that of reducing *Holland* and *Zealand*. Besides, his *Spanish* Counsellors were of Opinion, that it was more adviseable for him to make a Conquest of *England* and the *Low Countries* all at once, than to be obliged continually to maintain a warlike Navy to defend his *East* and *West India* Fleets from *Drake*, and other such bold enterprising Enemies.

THE Name of the Duke of *Medina Sidona*, who was Generalissimo of the whole Armada, as well the Land as Sea Forces, was *Don Alonso Perez de Guzman*, a Grandee



dee of *Spain* of the Superior Order, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, and Lord of *San Lucar* in *Andalusia*. He was put in the room of the Marquis de *Santa Cruz*, who held that Post from the very first Preparations for this Expedition till a little before the *Armada's* setting out, when he died. This Marquis had the Character of an experienced Officer, and was therefore much regretted; it being thought he would have succeeded better than the Duke, who was afterwards disgraced, and generally censur'd, as wholly unequal to the Undertaking. *If so, it was well for England that the Marquis died when he did.*

THERE were on Board the *Armada* (says my Author) besides the proper Officers for the Sea and Land Service, no fewer than One Hundred and Twenty-four Volunteers of very great Account, Sons of the noblest Families in *Spain* and *Italy*, with many Servants and Dependants of theirs armed at all Points.

As the most conspicuous of these noble Adventurers, he reckons the Prince of *Alco-li*, a Natural Son of *Philip II.* of *Spain*; the Prince of *Melito*, otherwise called the Duke of *Pastorana*, who had passed for the Son of *Don Ruy Gomez de Sylva*, but was in reality another of that Monarch's Natural Sons; the Marquis de *Burgrave*, a Natural

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Madam *Philippa Weller*; *Vespasiano Gon-  
zaga*, of the *Mantua* Family, a renowned  
Warrior, and had been a Viceroy some-  
where under the King of Spain; *Giovanni  
di Medicis* and *Amadio di Savoia*, Natural  
Sons of the Dukes of *Tuscany* and *Savoy*.  
To these he adds in particular, *Don Alonso  
de Llieva*; the Marquis *de Pentafiel*; the  
Marquis *de Ganes*; the Marquis *de Bar-  
lango*; the Count *de Parades*; the Count  
*de Yervas*: and divers others with Titles of  
Marquis or Count, of the honourable Sir-  
names of *Mendoza*, *Toledo*, *Pacheco*, *Cor-  
dova*, *Guzman*, *Manriques*, &c. &c.

“ ALL these Signors, Dons, Excellencies,  
“ and Highnesses, had been promised Prin-  
“ cipalities, Dukedoms, Marquisates, Baro-  
“ nies, and what not! out of the Heritical  
“ *Englisch* and *Scots* Forfeited Estates; to  
“ say nothing of the Fat Church-Dignities  
“ ready cut out for the Swarm of pious  
“ good *Levites* on Board this *Grand.Ca-  
“ tholick Armada*.”

IN the Duke of *Parma's* Army, near  
*Newport*, whereof *Camillo de Monte* was  
Camp-Master-General, were 30 Bands, or  
Companies, of *Italians*, 10 of *Walons*, 8  
of *Scots*, 8 of *Burgundians*; in all 56; con-  
sisting of 100 Men compleat in each Band  
or Company. In that near *Dixmude* were

104 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

80 Bands of *Flemings*, 60 of *Spaniards*, 6 of *Germans*, and 7 of *English* Fugitives, under the Conduct of Sir *William Stanley*.  
“ The same *English* Traytor who basely  
“ betrayed the strong and most important  
“ Town of *Duventer* to the *Spaniards*. ”  
The Marquis de *Gualto*, Captain-General of his Highness’s Cavalry, had, at least, 6000 Horse ready prepared for Imbarcation.

*Here follows an Account of the Spaniards  
Number of Galeons, Ships, Pinaces, Zabras, &c. Together with their Burtbens, Soldiers, Mariners, Munition, Weapons, Artillery, and other Furniture of War brought with them.*

1. THE Squadron of Galeons at *Portugal*, which consisted of twelve Vessels, the first whereof was the Galeon of *St. Mark*, Captain-General of the Army, of 1000 Tons; carried 177 Mariners, 300 Soldiers chosen Men, 50 Pieces of Cannon; Bullet, Powder, Lead, Match, and whatsoever else was needful.

THESE 12 Vessels (whereof ten were Galeons, and two *Zabres*) in all made 7737 Tons, and there were embarked in them 3330 Soldiers Footmen, and 1280 Mariners; they carried 350 great Pieces, and

and all other Necessaries, such as Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, &c.

2. The Army of *Biscay*, of which *Juan-Martinez de Ricarde* was Captain-General.

IN this Squadron were 14 Ships, 10 of them great, and 4 Pinaces, which were of 6567 Tons of Burthen: In which Ships were embarked 2037 Soldiers, 862 Mariners, with 260 Pieces of Cannon, 119,000 Bullets, 467 Quintals of Powder, 140 of Lead, and 89 of Match.

3. THE Army of the Gallies of *Castile*, of which *Diego Flores de Valdez* was General.

THERE were in this Squadron 14 Gallies and Ships, and two Pinaces, which bore 8704 Tons; In them were embarked 2458 Soldiers, 1719 Mariners, and 348 great Pieces: Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, &c. what was requisite.

4. THE Army of the Ships of *Andalusia*, whose Captain was *Pedro de Valdez*.

THERE were in this Squadron 11 Ships, 10 great, and a Pinace, of the Burthen of 8762 Tons: In these were embarked 2400 Soldiers and 800 Mariners, and 260 great Pieces

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Pieces of Cannon, with all other Necessaries.

5. THE Army of Ships which came from the Province of *Guipuscoa*, of which *Miguel de Oquendo* was General.

THERE were in this great Squadron 14 Ships, 10 whereof were great, 2 Pataches, and 2 Pinaces of 6991 Tons Burthen; in which there were embark'd 2092 Soldiers, and 670 Mariners, and all Necessaries.

#### 6. The Army of the *East*.

IN which Squadron were 10 Ships of 5705 Tons Burthen, which embarked in them 2880 Soldiers, 807 Mariners, 310 great Pieces, and all Requisites.

#### 7. The Army of *Hulkes*.

THIS consisted of 14 Ships, which were of 10271 Tons, in which were embarked 3221 Soldiers, 708 Mariners, 410 great Pieces, and their necessary Provision.

#### 8. Pataches and Zabres.

THERE were in this Squadron 12 Pataches and Zabres, which were of Burthen 1131 Tons; in which were embarked 479 Soldiers, 574 Mariners, 193 great Pieces, with necessary Furniture, &c. 9. The

## 9. The four Gallies of Naples.

IN these were 873 Soldiers, 468 Mariners, 200 great Pieces, 1200 Slaves, and whatever else was necessary for their Furniture, &c.

10. And 4 Gallies.

BEARING 400 Soldiers, 20 great Pieces, and 888 Slaves, &c.

The General Sum of the whole *Armada*.

So that there were in the said *Armada* 130 Ships of 57,868 Tons, 19,295 Soldiers, 8450 Mariners, 2088 Slaves, and 2630 great Pieces of Bras of all Sorts.

MOREOVER, and above the aforementioned 130 Vessels, there were 20 Caravels for the Service of the above-named Army; and likewise 10 Salvo's, with six Oars a-piece.

THE Adventurers, or Volunteers, Noblemen and Gentlemen of Quality, and others, who went in the said Army, and their Servants who were able to fight. Their Names being set down, and the Number (to whom the Shipping had been given in the said Army) were 124, and the Servants brought with them 346, bearing Arms and Weapons.

THEN follow'd the Names of those who were entertained and in Pay in the said

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Army,

108 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
Army, (among whom were four or five  
*Englismen*) to the Number of 238, with  
163 Servants.

MOREOVER such Persons as were embarked for the Service of the Artillery were 167, consisting of a Lieutenant of the Captain-General, a Priest-Major, 20 Gentlemen, 2 Engineers, one of the great Master Gunners and his Helpers; a Physician, a Surgeon, an Apothecary, a Master-Carpenter, a Locksmith, other Workmen, Smiths, &c. A Commissary of the Mules, with 22 Boys, and Officers Servants.

#### Persons of the Hospital.

General Administrator, his Lieutenants, Physicians 5, the Chief Surgeon, 4 other Surgeons, 5 Assistants, a Controller, a Great Master, 62 other Officers, and Boys of Service.

Religious Men who accompanied the said Army.

Of the Order of St. *Francis*, of the Province of *Castile*, 8.

Of the same Order, of the Province of *Portugal*, 20.

*Friers-Capuchins, Castilians*, 29.

*Friers-Capuchins, Portugueses*, 10.

*Castilians*

*Castilians* of the Order of St. *Augustine* 9.  
*Portugueses* of the same Order 14.

There were also in the Army of the Order of St. *Francis*, of St. *Dominic*, of the Company of *Jesus*. In all 180 Religious Men.

# PROVISIONS.

Quintals 11,000 of Biscuit, which sufficed to nourish the Army 6 Months.

Wine 14,170 Pipes, to suffice for the said 6 Months.

Quintals of Bacon 6500, to suffice for the same Time.

Goats Cheese 3458 Quintals.

8000 Quintals of Fish.

3000 Quintals of Rice.

6320 Septiers of Beans and white Peas, to suffice for more than 6 Months.

11,398 Pound of Olive Oil.

33,870 Measures of Vinegar, to suffice for the Provision.

For the Service of the said Army there were carried a great Number of Hogsheds full of Water; Dishes, Cups, Saucers, &c. which were to be parted in proper Portions: Links, Lanterns, Lamps, Lead in Sheets, Neats-Leather, and Tampons, in case that the Enemy's Shot should damage their



their Ships, with Quantity of Leather Bags for Powder, Torches of Wax Candles for Lanterns, Cressets, 8000 *Roman* Bottles of Leather for their Wine and Water, 5000 Pair of Shoes, and 11,000 Bundles of Cords; there were also the Furniture for the Sea belonging to the Cannon.

Moreover, there was of Provision of Overplus, double Wheels, and other Furniture for 12 double Cannons of Battery, and for 21 Field Pieces, with 3500 Bullets for 'em, besides the Provision already mentioned; as also Cables for Ships, Pitch, Flax, &c. and there were likewise Standards, Ensigns and Banners, wherein the Figures of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, the *Virgin Mary*, and his *Catholic Majesty*, were painted.

And for Conveyance of the said Cannons by Land, they had Mules, Carriages, Mantlets, Gabions, and such like Sorts, with every Thing necessary for the said Purpose.

And besides the Weapons which Soldiers usually have, they carry'd also, in case of Necessity, the Arms which are here underwritten;

7000 Harquebusses with their Furniture.

1000 Musquets with their Furniture.

10,000 Pikes.

1000 Partizans and Halbards.

6000 Half Pikes.

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### Spanish Cruelty display'd.

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They also carry'd of Overplus, in case they should come ashore, all their Tools, as Iron Crows, Porters Baskets, Maçons Hammers, Sacks for the Pioneers, all in great Quantity.

So that there were in the said Army, all the Vessels, Cannons, Soldiers, Mariners, Munitions, necessary Furniture, Victuals, &c. as appears by the foregoing Relation, made at *Lisbon*, the 9th of *May*, 1558.

Afterwards there went out of *Lisbon*, toward the End of *June* following, a Supply of an Army in good Furnitures, containing 80 Sail of Ships, which were intended to join the said Army.

WE shall now give our Readers an impartial Narration of the Preparations made by the Court of *England*, in order to repulse this (falsly call'd by the *Spaniards*) INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

THE Queen's Majesty, (ELIZABETH, ever memorable from our *Annals* of the British Nation, as well as the *Accounts* we have from all others) understanding the great and diligent Preparations of the King of *Spain*, in divers Parts, both by Land and Sea; not only of the strongest Ships of all Places within his Dominions, but also of all Sorts of Provision and Munition necessary for

for a mighty Fleet, which was to come from *Spain* and *Portugal*: For the furnishing and better Direction whereof, he had drawn together, into the Places aforesaid the most principal and ancient Captains and Soldiers, as well of the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, as of *Lombardy* and other Parts of *Italy*, and the more remote Parts of *India*, as by every one was long before very evidently perceived, by Reason that the Preparation of these Things, together with the Number of the Ships, Mariners and Soldiers, the divers Sorts and Quantities of Victuals, the great Number and various Kinds of Artillery, with the Sum of every several Sort, were sufficiently specified unto all Countries by certain Pamphlets, laying forth at large his whole Intent: which Pamphlets were printed and published in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and other Provinces of *Christendom*, with this Title; *The most puissant and most happy Fleet of the King of Spain against the Realm of England*. Her Majesty, I say, having in this Manner received so open and manifest Information hereof, as also certain Intelligence of Horsemen and Footmen sent in so great Number, that they were sufficient for the furnishing of divers Camps in the *Low Countries*, under the Government of the Duke of *Parma*, his Lieutenant-General of those Provinces; and withal knowing the Multitudes

Multitude of the Ships of War, and the Possibility which the said King had to transport his Soldiers out of *Flanders*, and land them in *England*, not sparing to give out thereupon open and free Report, that all that Provision was for the Invasion and Conquest of *England*. And forasmuch also as, at the same Time, the King himself, by Means of his aforesaid General, the Duke of *Parma*, pretended a certain Treaty of Peace to be made with her Majesty (albeit this Offer was in Truth known in *England* not to have been made, but only to take Advantage of the Time, and to make her Majesty negligent in preparing for her Defence) although she (notwithstanding desirous openly to declare her good Inclination unto that, which is a Just and Christian Commendation in a prudent Princess) refused not in any Point this Treaty and Offer of Peace, greatly desired of all Christian People: And therefore gave Commandment to certain Noblemen of her Privy-Council and others, with certain Governors of her Forces in *Flanders*, to deal in this Matter with the Commissioners there appointed in the Name and Behalf of the said King: And our Commissioners, after their Departure and manifest Declaration that they began to pally to some Purpose concerning this Treaty, being driven off a long Time to small Effect, and without

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any manifest Hope of Agreement likely to ensue, until such Time as the *Spanish* Fleet was not only discovered in the *English* Channel, but also with-held and bridled from their Purpose in joining with the Forces of the Duke of *Parma*, and transporting an Army into *England*: And finally, until such Time as it was enforced to withdraw itself and seek some better Fortune in the Northern Seas, being unable any where else to make a forcible Resistance: Therefore, her Majesty, as well to declare her propense Readiness, if on their Part any sincere Intent of Peace had been, as her vigilant Providence not to be deluded by so subtle and malicious an Enemy, furnished herself by Sea with a mighty Fleet, and by Land with no less Diligence, to resist so great Forces as were by all Nations reported to come against her: For it was never known in the Memory of Man, that so great Preparation was ever heretofore, at one Time, made out, either by King *Philip* himself, or yet by the Emperor *Charles* his Father, altho' his Power was much more, and his Occasions of War far greater: For the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth's Armada against *Algiers*, in 1541, and his Losses there, were little inferior (if at all so) to this Miscarriage of his Son's INVINCIBLE ARMADA, as they were pleas'd to term it.

THE Diligence therefore of the *English*, answerable unto the Care of their Prince, was such and so great, that her Majesty was provided of a mighty Fleet to defend her by Sea from her Enemy, between the 1st of *December*, 1587, and the 20th of *December* next ensuing, a Time in Truth very short for such a Provision, in regard of so many Years employ'd by the said King in preparing his Fleet, which notwithstanding did shew of what Force it was, by Experience afterwards made thereof against the *English* Navy, gathered together within 50 Days, and provided and most excellently furnished of all Things necessary such a Purpose.

HER Majesty and her Council being under the strongest Apprehensions of this great and mighty Force visiting the *English* Shore, thought fit to write to all the Lord Lieutenants of all the Counties, that she might not be unprepared for their Reception as well by Land as Sea, and therein advices them to make large Preparations for Defence, as will appear by the following Letter to the Lord Marquess of *Winchester*, and to the Earl of *Sussex* for *Hampshire*, as taken from the Original in the *Cottonian* Library, which runs thus, *viz.*

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By

116 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

By the QUEEN.

ELIZABETH R.

**R**IGHT Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousins, we grete you well. Whereas heretofore, upon the Advertisement from Time to Time, and from sundry Places, of the great Preparations of Foreign Forces made, with a full Intent to invade this our Realm, and other our Dominions, we gave our Directions unto you, for the preparing our Subjects within your Lientenancy, to be in a Readiness for Defence against any Attempts which might be made against us and our Realm, which our Directions we find so well performed, that we cannot but receive great Contentment thereby, both in Respect to your careful Proceedings therein, and also of the great Willingness of our People in general to the Accomplishment of that whereunto they were required; shewing thereby their great Love and Loyalty towards us, which as we accept most thankfully at their Hands, acknowledging ourselves infinitely bound to Almighty GOD, in that it hath pleased him to bless us with such loving and dutiful Subjects; so would we have you make it known unto them upon our Behalf.

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## Spanish Cruelty display'd.

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Forasmuch as we find the same Intention, not only of invading, but of making a Conquest also of this Realm, now constantly more and more detected and confirmed, as a Matter fully resolv'd on, a great Army being already put to the Sea for that Purpose, (the which, we doubt not, but by GOD'S Goodness, shall prove frustrate) We have therefore thought meet to will and require you forthwith, with as much convenient Speed as you may, to call together, at some convenient Place or Places, the best Sort of Gentlemen under your Lientenancy, and to declare unto them, that, considering these great Preparations and arrogant Threatnings, now burst out into Action upon the Seas, tending to a Conquest, wherein every Man's particular State is, in the highest Degree to be touch'd, in Respect of Country, Liberty, Wife, Children, Lands, Life, and (that which is especially to be regarded) for the Profession of the true and sincere Religion, laying before them the infinite and unspeakable Miseries which fall out upon any such Accident and Change, which Miseries are evidently seen by the Fruits of the hard and cruel Government which is bolden in Countries not far distant, where such Change doth happen, whatsoever Pretence is otherwise given forth for the Cause of Religion; We do look that the most Part of them should



118 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

Should have, upon this extraordinary Occasion a large Proportion of Furniture, both for the Horsemen and Footmen, but especially Horsemen, than hath been certified, thereby to be put in their best Strength against any Attempt whatsoever; to be employed both about our own Person, or otherwise, as they shall have Knowledge given unto them. The Number of larger Proportion so soon as you shall know, We require you to signify to Our Privy Council.

Hereunto, as We doubt not, but, by your good Endeavours, they will be the rather conformable; so also We assure Ourselves, that Almighty GOD will so bless these their Loyal Hearts borne towards us, their Loving Sovereign, and their Natural Country, that all the Attempts of any Enemy whatsoever shall be made void, and frustrate, to their Confusion, your Comfort, and to GOD's High Glory.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Manour of Greenwich, the 18th of June, 1588. The 30th Year of Our Reign.

AND from the foregoing Circumstances it plainly appears her Majesty neglected no Opportunity to strengthen the Interest and Welfare of her Subjects, as well as protect her Dominions from the haughty Insolence of the Spaniards in this Attempt.

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THE Care and Charge of the Naval Armament was commended unto the Right Hon. *Charles Lord Howard*, Baron of *Efingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, who, for his Place and Office, noble Courage, Experience in Martial Affairs, and Nobility of Blood and Descent, was thought most proper and worthy to be employ'd in that Service. He had in his Company a sufficient Number of honourable, worshipful, and valiant Personages, famous both in Respect of their Births and Gifts of Mind, desirous to serve their Prince and Country in such a Cause as this, being judged of the whole *English* Nation both just and necessary; Likewise of Sea-faring Men and Private Soldiers so competent a Number, as might be answerable unto the Power of so great a Prince in so weighty a Cause. The Lord High Admiral therefore with these Forces keeping for a Season the narrow Seas and Chanel between *England* and *Flanders*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Knt. (mentioned here also in Honour of his good Deserts) was, by the Advice of the Lords of the Council, and his Honour so-commanding it, sent towards the West Parts with certain of the Queen's Ships, and others from divers Ports of *England* thereabout, being in all not above 50 Sail, of all Sorts, there to attend the Lord High Admiral's coming with greater Forces, if Occasion

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Occasion should require. In the mean Season the Lord Admiral, with his Vice-Admiral the Lord *Henry Seymour*, kept the Narrow Seas, accompanied with twenty Ships more, very well furnished at the Charges of the Citizens of *London*, besides many others, from divers Parts on that Side of the Realm, which lies from the Town of *Dover* up to the Northward, which met all together in good Order, and well appointed for War.

AND here the Lord Admiral, understanding for a Certainty, that the Fleet of the Enemy was already launched and at Sea, he weigh'd Anchor, and leaving the Lord *Seymour* with sufficient Forces of the Queen's Ships, and other Vessels, to watch what the Duke of *Parma* might do, or was able to undertake by Sea, and departing from thence the 21<sup>st</sup> of *May*, 1588, to the Westward with her Majesty's Navy, and twenty Ships of *London*, with some others, he arrived at *Plymouth* the 23<sup>d</sup> of the same Month, where Sir *Francis Drake*, with fifty Sail which he had under his Charge, met with the Lord Admiral in very good Order. And then, the two Navies being joined together into one, the Lord Admiral made Sir *Francis Drake* his Vice-Admiral.

ARRIVING then at *Plymouth*, his Lordship presently gave Orders for Provision of Victuals

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Victuals for the whole Navy, that it might want nothing tending to the necessary Service ensuing. The whole Navy was at this present about 90 Sail of all Sorts.

THIS Provision being compleat, he resolv'd with himself to put forth to Sea again about the 30th of *May* aforesaid. But the Wind not serving his Turn, he kept himself abroad; sailing up and down within the *Sleeve*; between *Usbant* and *Scilly*, attending some Sight or Report of the Enemy's Fleet: Where having waited a certain Time, some whiles drawing near to the Coast of *France*, and sometimes to the Coast of *England*, he returned (being thereto enforced by a great Tempest) with his whole Navy in the Port of *Plymouth* the 6th of *June*, to refresh his Company there; from whence *Sir Francis Drake* wrote the following Letter to the Lord Treasurer.

*To the Right Honourable, my very good Lord, the Lord High-Treasurer of England.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THE 30th of *May* we set sail out of *Plymouth*, having the Wind Eastwardly, which continued but a short Time: Yet nevertheless all Men were so willing of Service, and

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## 122 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

and none more than my Lord Admiral himself, that we endured a great Storm (considering the Time of Year) with the Wind Southerly and at South-west for seven Days; and longer we had, had not the Wind come Westwardly, and that so much as in keeping Sea we should have been put to Leeward of Plymouth, either for Portland or Wight, which Places had not been so meet, either for the meeting of the Enemy, or relieving ourselves of those Wants which daily will be in so great an Army of Ships.

At our being at Sea, we had divers Intelligences, but especially one of most Importance; which is a Hulk which came from San Lucar six Weeks ago, and in her Way homewards, saw, this Day sixteen Days, a great Fleet of Ships, which came from Lisbon, having the Wind Northerly, and so coming to the Westwards; which the Skipper and his Company judge to be the great Fleet of Ships which the King of Spain hath made ready; for that they saw so many as they could not number them. They say, that they saw 150 or 200 Sail, and yet could not discover the End of their Fleet, altho' they lay to the Eastwards and the Fleet to the Westwards.

It is now to be looked for that, either we shall bear of them very shortly, or else they will go to the Groine, and there assemble

ble themselves, and make their full Rendezvous.

I assure your good Lordship, and protest it before GOD, that I find my Lord Admiral so well affected for all honourable Services in this Action, as it doth assure all his Followers of good Success, and Hope of Victory.

Thus humbly taking my Leave of your good Lordship, I daily pray to GOD to bless her Majesty, and to give us Grace to fear him: So shall we not need to doubt the Enemy, altho' they be many.

From aboard her Majesty's good Ship the Revenge, riding in Plymouth-Sound, this 6th of June, 1588.

Your Lordship's,

Very ready to be commanded,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

BUT to proceed: In the mean Season, there was discovered between *Usbant* and *Scilly*, certain Ships of the *Spanish* Fleet, not above the Number of 14, which were known to be severed from the whole Fleet by Violence of the aforesaid Tempest: But before they could be encounter'd withal by any of the *English* Navy, the Wind came about, whereby they had an Opportunity to return back again, saving themselves

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from all Perils in their Haven in the *Groine*, (*Coruna*, in *Gabicia*, the nearest to *England* of all the *Spanisb* Ports) into which also the rest of the *Spanisb* Fleet was put to provide themselves a-new of all Things which they wanted, and especially of fresh Water. Of this the Lord Admiral had Intelligence and Advertisement from sundry Parts, as also that the *Spanisb* Fleet was by great Storms disperfed and fevered into divers Places, thro' Want of many necessary Things, thro' Diseases and Mortality of Men, altho' the Report of hereof could not afterwards be verified, whereof the certain Truth was, that being troubled with Tempest they were commanded to come a-shore at the *Groine*.

THE Lord Admiral therefore seeing the Coasts of *England* and *France* clear and free from all Danger, as by diligent Search it was understood, resolved, by the Advice and Opinion of his Council, to take the Advantage of the next Wind which should blow from the North, that passing to the Coast of *Spain* he might find the Enemy's Fleet so disperfed in the *Groine*, and in other Parts of *Gabicia*, whither they had been driven by the Storm.

THIS was put in Execution between the 8th and 10th of the same Month, the Wind being then at North, which within a-while changing

changing unto the South, after he was come within forty Leagues, or thereabout, of the Coast of *Spain*, made him to cast a Doubt of that which did afterwards happen indeed. For laying this before him as his principal Care, according to the Charge laid upon him by her Majesty, to be diligent and careful for the Defence of the Coast of *England*, and considering that the Wind, which was now changed and very good to make for *England*, the Enemy might set out and pass for *England* without Discovery of his Fleet, he returned back with the whole Navy, and the 12th of the same Month he arrived at *Plymouth*, there accordingly to provide himself of what was necessary.

THE 19th of *June*, his Honour had Intelligence, by a Bark or Pinace, whose Captain *Thomas Fleming*, among others behind him in the *Siege* for Discovery, that the *Spanish* Fleet was discovered near unto the *Lizard*, the Wind being then South and by West; And therefore, albeit by Reason of the great Number of *English* Ships which were in *Plymouth*, it was with that Wind very hard to bring them forth from thence (as the military Art of the Sea and the Condition of their Affairs required;) yet there was such Diligence used by the Lord Admiral, and others by his Example, as they endeavoured therein with such Advice and Earnestness,



Earnestness, that many of the Ships were at length warped out of the Haven, as if the Wind had been wholly favourable unto them; which Thing could not have fallen out but through the long and certain Skill which the *English* Masters generally have in Marine Discipline. To the which Reason this may be added, that they were all of one Nation, of one Tongue, and touched with a grievous and equal Hatred toward their Enemies, being mightily persuaded of their Forces: Whereupon we may, in such Cases, assure ourselves of what Importance it is in Sea-faring Matters for a Fleet of any Prince whatsoever, invading any Foreign State or Kingdom, to encounter with a Fleet ready for Defence, in such Manner as the *English* Navy was; for so much as the Fleet invading being provided diversly of Masters and Officers, differing one from another in Custom, Language and Conceit, cannot in any Measure give any assured Hope of certain Victory, how honourable soever the Commander be. Many of the Ships therefore came forth, by Reason the Men were moved in the aforesaid Respects to labour diligently, and so much the rather, by how much the Captains and chief Officers, both by Counsel and Hand, shewed themselves more diligent and industrious.

By these Means, the 20th Day of *June*, the Lord Admiral, accompanied with fifty-four Ships, came forth with the same Wind the Enemy had from the South West; which certainly was not esteemed a small Thing to be done, in regard as well of the Wind, as of the Narrowness of the Place itself.

THE *Spanish* Fleet being manifestly discovered about 140 Miles from *Edifstone*, and clearly seen of every one toward the West, and so far off from *Foye* as the *English* Fleet was, that is, twenty-five ordinary *English* Miles; the next Morning, being the 21st of *June*, all the Ships which were now come out of the Haven, had gotten the Wind of the *Spaniards*, and approaching somewhat nearer, found that their Fleet was placed in Battle Array, after the Manner of a Moon Crescent, being ready with her Horns and her inward Circumference to receive either all, or so many of the *English* Navy as should give her the Assault, her Horns being extended in Wideness about eight Miles, if the Informations given have not deceived my Pen. The Reason of their arrangeing in this Order, arose upon the Foresight of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, General of the *Spanish* Fleet, who approaching the Coast, sent out a small Ship to espy somewhat concerning the *English* Fleet, and hearing, by certain Fishermen taken Prisoners,

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Prisoners, that our Fleet was in *Plymouth*, he prepared himself as aforesaid for the avoiding of all such Chances as might after befall. Whereupon, about Nine a-Clock in the Forenoon, the Lord Admiral commanded his Pinace, called the *Disdain*, (tho' other Accounts say the *Defiance*) to give the Defiance to the Duke of *Medina*; after which, he in the Queen's Ship, called the *Ark Royal*, went foremost, as was convenient, and began hotly to fight with a great Ship which was the Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet, in which he thought, by reason of certain likely Conjectures, the Duke of *Medina* to be, considering also the said Ship was so well accompanied by others. The Fight with her continued so long and so hot, that divers other Ships, yea most Part of the *Spanish* Fleet came to her Succour.

IN the mean Season, the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, with Master *John Hawkins*, and Master *Martin Frobisher*, fought with a Galeon of *Portugal*, wherein they conceived *Don Martin de Ricalde*, the Vice-Admiral, to be.

THIS Fight was so well maintained, for the Time it continued, that the Enemy was enforced to leave his Place, and to give Way, gathering towards the East: In the which Point of removing, a great Galeon, wherein

wherein *Don Pedro de Valdez* went as Captain, falling foul with another Ship of their Fleet, was deprived of her Fore-mast, so that she could not follow the Body of the Fleet, which forsook her, to the great Marvel of the *English* themselves, whereby *Don Pedro* became Prisoner, as hereafter shall be declared.

THERE was also at this Time a great Ship of *Biscay*, about 800 Tons in Burthen, which was spoiled by Fire upon this Occasion: The Captain of the Soldiers who went in her, having small Regard (as is reported) of an orderly and civil Life, did insolently beat a *Flemish* Gunner: What Cause he had is not known; whether on Occasion of Words about the Charge, or by Means of the Gunner's Wife, whom he had abused, according to the Custom of that Nation; whereupon the perplexed Man, seeing himself among such a Kind of People, as not only made him serve their Turns at their own Pleasure, but disgraced him in as vile a Manner as if he was a Slave, despairing both of his Life, Wife, and his young Daughter, and, per chance, rather moved with the Dishonour of them than by his own Misfortunes (for such a Mind is many Times in Men even of mean Condition) he set himself on Fire in a Barrel of Gunpowder, procuring thereby, thro' the Loss of his own Life, and the

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extreme Hazard of those who belonged to him, and the Loss of many Mens Lives besides, a cruel Revenge of his Injuries received by one Man. This Example may serve to instruct such as command over others, how they ought to behave themselves with less Insolency; inasmuch as the Mind of Man is always prone to Revenge, after the Custom of our Bloody Age, if he be not born utterly void of a quick Wit and lively Spirit.

THOUGH this Mischance of theirs all the upper Decks were blown up, all her Furniture marr'd, and much other Spoil done, besides the Death and maiming of her Men; so that being utterly unable all that Night to help herself, she was succoured by the Galleasses, and, for the Time, saved in the Body of their Fleet.

BUT to return to our Purpose: This first Skirmish continued not above two Hours, because the Lord Admiral, considering that he wanted as yet forty Ships, which could not so readily come forth of the Haven, he thought he should do better Service, if he staid their coming before he proceeded any farther, beating behind the Enemy, least he should bring the others too much in Hazard, and therefore he thought it not profitable too much to embolden and prick forward those he had with him in a Matter which was

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### Spanish Cruelty display'd.

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was not greatly convenient, either for the Honour of the Realm or his own Person; neither did the military Discipline of the *English* Nation, purchased by long Experience at Sea, give him Leave to do it. And therefore he put forth his Flag to call the other Captains to Council; who agreeing unto his Determination, received Instructions concerning the Order which they were to keep in following the *Spanish* Fleet; and then, having given Liberty to every Man to return to their Charge, he gave Order likewise to his Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, to appoint the Watch for that Night, and to bear out the Light.

THE same Night the *Spanish* Fleet lay about 14 Miles off the *Stert*; and the next Day following, early in the Morning, it was under the Wind not so far off as *Berry*.

IN the mean Time, the *English* Fleet wanting Light, because the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, leaving his Place to follow five Hulks which were discovered in the Evening very late, it came to pass that all the other Ships staid behind, not knowing they were to follow, or whither to direct themselves: So that there might have followed some great Inconvenience, if they had had to do with an Enemy more practised in our Seas. But, as it seemed by Re-

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port, the Vice-Admiral was moved to do this by Means of a certain curious Diligence and a military Suspicion, arising from very probable Conjectures, grounded on Circumstances of Matter considered in his Mind: And therefore he gave them the Chace, as thinking that they had been Enemies.

BUT being overtaken, and their Officers examined, and being known to be Friends, or at least-wise not Enemies, he permitted them to go their Way, returning himself unto the Fleet the Day following.

THE Lord Admiral notwithstanding, accompanied with the *Bear* and *Mary-Rose*, coming a little behind his Stern, by Reason of the Clearness of the Air (which, at that Time of the Year, is ordinarily very great throughout all *England*) followed the Enemy all that Night within a Culverin Shot: By Reason whereof the rest of the Fleet was cast so far behind, that the Morning after the nearest Part thereof could hardly descry the Tops of the other Ships, and many of them were clean out of Sight; so that with all the Force of their Sails, they could hardly come all together the whole Day following until the Evening.

THE next Day, the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, being in the Queen's Ship called the *Revenge*, having also the *Roebuck*, and a Pinace or two in his Company, took

*Don Pedro de Valdez*, who, as was said before, had lost the Fore-mast of his Ship. And having received the said *Valdez* as his Prisoner, and certain other Gentlemen of most Account who were therein, he sent the Ship, together with the Prisoners unto *Dartmouth*, under the Conduct of the *Roebeck*, and he himself made toward the Lord Admiral, under whose Lee he came that very Night.

'Tis to be observed, that some short Time after, a little before the Vice-Admiral, Sir *Francis Drake*, was returned unto the Fleet, the *Spaniards* forsook the Ship which the Day before was spoiled by Fire; to which Ship the Lord Admiral sent the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and with him Mr *John Hawkins*, who being in the Cock-boat of the *Victory*, went aboard her, and there found a lamentable Sight; for all the uppermost Decks of her being torn and spoiled by the Fire, there was in her fifty Men miserably burned with the Powder. The Stink in her was so great, and the Ship itself so filthy, that the Lord *Howard* departed presently from her; and returning with Mr. *John Hawkins* to the Lord Admiral, they then informed him of what they found and saw there; for which Cause there was presently Commandment given, that the little Pinace of Captain *Fleming* should conduct her into some

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some Port of *England*, where they might commodiously help themselves; whereupon it was carried to *Weymouth* the next Day following: For all the Mishap which befel this Ship, they understood that the *Spaniards* had taken out of her all the best Things they could, casting off the Bulk of her, together with certain gross Stuff therein, as for that Time together unprofitable.

ABOUT this Time her Majesty, seeing that all Hope of Peace was frustrated, called home again her Commissioners from *Flanders*, who were, by the Duke of *Parma* most courteously dismissed, very honorably accompany'd, and themselves and Carriages safe conducted to the Marches of *Calais*, which Way they took their Journey.

But to our Matter. The Night last before-mentioned, there befel a great Calm, and thereupon 4 *Spanish* Galleasses severed themselves from the Rest of the Fleet, This Thing made the *English* doubt, that they had that Night resolved to give the Onset upon some of their lesser Ships, imagining that they might annoy them, the rather, for that they were the Rere-ward of the Fleet. But afterwards the Galleasses (whatsoever the Occasion was) enterprised nothing, either for that they saw they could not safely do it, or else because their Minds were

were not thoroughly settled upon that, which before they thought to do: A Thing many Times falling out in such Persons as are but poor in Counsel and Resolution, that they continue in their perplexed Con- ceits without any Effect or Commodity in- suing thereof.

On the 19th of *July*, the Lord-High- Admiral *Howard*, with great Difficulty, warped out of *Plymouth* against the Wind; he was obliged to lye all that Night with- out in the Road with only six Sh. ps. On the Morrow at Noon, the whole *Spanish* Fleet, with a S. W. Wind, came sailing a- long, and passed by *Plymouth*, wherein, according to the Judgment of many skill- ful Navigators, the *Spaniards* greatly over- shot themselves, who should rather there have made a full Stop, considering the *En- glish* were as yet so unprovided to receive them. Besides, this was of all others the most convenient Port, where, with most Security, they might have been advertised of the *English* Forces, and how the People on shore stood affected, and have stirred up some Mutiny; so that thither they should have bent all their Power, and thither the Duke of *Parma* might more easily have convey'd his Army, &c.

BUT this, it seems, they were prohibit- ed to do by the King and his Council, and were

were expressly commanded to join the Duke of *Parma*, and so proceed in a Body, as was thought the readiest Way, they imagining the *English* and *Dutch* would be so daunted at their Appearance, that they would instantly retire to guard and defend their respective Coasts and Ports; so that by transporting the Duke's Army under the Shadow and Wings of this huge *Armada*, they might with Ease invade *England*.

MANY of their expertest Sea Commanders, particularly *Don Juan Martinez de Ricalde*, *Don Diego Flores de Valdez*, with other Chiefs, were highly discontented at being thus strictly tied up to their positive Instructions, and not suffered to take Advantages as might offer. But they were, by their Commission, absolutely enjoined to be at or near *Calais*, whither the Duke of *Parma* was to repair with all the Force he had provided, who was to pass by, while the *English* and *Spanish* great Ships were engaged, and so land his Soldiers on the *Dorens*.

AFTER confirming the Affair of the Lord High-Admiral's Mistake in the Night of following the *Spanish* Lantern, instead of that of the *English* (as we have already mention'd) another Author, who has wrote very candidly about these Matters, says, that the Admiral found himself next Morning

Morning in the very midst of the Enemy's Fleet; but that when he perceived it, he dextrously extricated himself from that imminent Danger; and adds,

SIR *Francis Drake* having disabled *Don Waldez's* Ship, sent his Pinace; and understanding *Valdez* himself was in her, he ordered him and his Company to be summon'd to yield. *Valdez*, for his Honour's Sake, caus'd certain Conditions, by way of Capitulation, to be propos'd to the Vice-Admiral, who sent Answer, *That he was not then at Leisure to make any long Parley, but that if he surrender'd, he should find him friendly and reasonable: However, if he was dispos'd to die fighting, he should experience Drake to be no Disfard.* On which Message, *Valdez* and his Company, understanding that they were fallen into the Power of *Fortunate Drake*, mov'd with the Renown of his celebrated Name, unanimously agreed to yield themselves, and found, at his Hands, a very favourable Reception.

*Valdez*, being brought into *Drake's* Presence, humbly kiss'd his Hand, protesting, *That he and his had resolv'd to die fighting, had they not, by good Fortune, fallen into his Power, whom they knew to be courteous, affable, and generous to his vanquish'd Enemies, as having generally heard it so reported.*

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Adding, *That it was doubtful, whether his Foes had more Cause to love and admire him for his Valour and Bravery, or to dread him for his extraordinary Wisdom and Conduct, and the singular Felicity which constantly attended all those great and noble Exploits, whereby he had attained such Honour and Renown.* The Vice-Admiral embraced him, gave him very honourable Entertainment at his own Table, and lodged him nobly in his own Cabbin. Among other Discourses, the Don told *Drake, That they, at first, thought to have driven all before them, little expecting the English durst face their impregnable Castles, taking it for granted, that this mighty Armada would assuredly reign absolutely Mistress of the Ocean.* Adding, *That above all, he most wonder'd how the English, in their small Ships, durst be so bold as to approach their huge Gallies and Gallies so near, as even within less than Musquet-shot, as they did, gathering the Wind of them, to their own apparent Danger.*

WHEN this Don Diego Flores de Valdez (who was a Person of very great Note and Esteem among his Countrymen, and related to that Valdez, who in 1574 besieged Leiden) had staid some Time with Vice-Admiral Drake, he was, with his Followers (a good Number of whom were Noblemen) convey'd on Shore, and there detained Prisoners

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soners for Ransom. In this Prize, among much other rich Booty, the Captors found 55,000 Ducats, all in Gold, of King *Philip's* Money.

THIS Ship was a huge Galeon, Admiral of the *Guipulcoa* Squadron, and commanded by *Don Miguel de Oquendo*, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet; *Don Martinez de Ricalde* was Admiral: She carried many Stores for the *Armada's* Service, and tho' there was a vast Quantity of Powder on Board, yet, to the great Amazement of all Men, it escaped.

THE Morning following, being *Tuesday* the 23<sup>d</sup> of the Month, the Wind was at North-East; whereupon the *Spaniards* came back upon the *Englishs* with the Advantage of the Wind, directing their Course toward the Land: The which Course was not profitable for the *Englishs*: Therefore, to take Advantage of the Enemy, they cast about toward the West with a reasonable Compass, their Ships being very good both of Sail and Stirrage, that they might bring about their Purpose. Now the *Spaniards*, to hinder their Intent, after they perceived it, offered to come near aboard to fight with them, trusting in the huge Greatness and Height of their Ships. The which Offer of theirs, the *Englishs* refused not, but began presently to bring themselves into Bat-

140. OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

the Array, which the Enemy perceiving, he also did the like.

In this Case, the *Ark*, the *Lion*, the *Bear*, the *Elizabeth-Jones*, the *Victory*, and certain other Ships, were content to follow the Ship called the *Non-Parcil*.

In the mean Season, the *Triumph*, with 5 other Ships of *London*, namely, the *Merchant-Royal*, the *Centurion*, the *Margery-Joan*, the *Mary-Rose*, and the *Golden-Lion*, were so far to the Rereward, and so far severed from the Rest of the Fleet, that the Galleasses undertook to give them a hard Assault. But they were well entertained by the Ships for the Space of an Hour and Half, until at length some of the Queen's Ships, coming to succour the *Triumph* and the *Londoners*, did deal so well in the Matter, that the Galleasses were driven to retire. The Wind came about, at this Instant, to the South-East, and afterwards to the South-West-and-by-South, at which Time a certain Number or Squadron of the Queen's, together with the other Merchant Ships, gave Assault unto the *Spanish* Fleet, and that so furiously to the West-ward of them, that the *Spaniards* were all inforced to give them Way: For which Cause the Lord Admiral, considering both the Discommodity and Danger whereunto the *Triumph* and the other 5 Ships were come, called others of  
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the Queen's Ships, which were not far off, and gave them freight Commandment to follow him, and to charge the Enemies, which were to the Westward, with all their Force; giving farther Order to them all, not to discharge any one Piece of Ordnance before they should come within a Musket Shot of the Enemy, inasmuch as that was the only Way to succour the Ships of their Friends with the greater Damage of the Enemy. This was well performed by the *Ark*, the *Elizabeth-Jonas*, the *Galeon-Leicester*, the *Golden-Lion*, the *Victory*, the *Mary-Rose*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Swallow*: Which Thing the Duke of *Medina* perceiving, he also came forth with 16 of his best Galeons to hinder and impeach the *English* in the Defence of the *Triumph*, seeming in this Case to pretend, that the Reason of the Fight did so require; whereas the Regard of his Honour did no less inforce him unto it; because it seemed inconvenient that he should, in every Thing, be inferior to the *English*: And therefore he made large Promises unto those by whose Means the Victory should be obtained. But Matters were quite otherwise decreed, that is, the Success of the Conflict; one *William Cocks*, Captain of a little Pinace called the *Violet*, belonging unto Sir *William Winter*, behaved himself very valiantly against the Enemy in the greatest Heat



142 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

Heat of this Encounter: But, within a little while after, he lost his Life by a great Piece of Ordnance: Fortune not being resolutely favourable unto his Courage.

Towards the Evening, 4 or 5 Spanish Ships came out from the Fleet from the South-Eastward, against whom went certain of the *English* Ships, and, among them, the *May-Flower* of *London*, which discharged certain Pieces upon the Enemy, with a very honourable Declaration of the Marine Discipline, and, being accompany'd by other Ships, they all behaved themselves no less diligently (which Thing was not at the first hoped for) shewing their Desire tempered with a Wish of other Company. The Conflict continued from the Morning unto the Evening, the Lord Admiral being at all Times vigilant in all Adventures which might fall out: And thereupon he was sometimes more, and sometimes less, eager in the Conflict, as Necessity required, giving thereby evident Example how others should behave themselves. It might well be said that, for the Time, it was not possible to see, before this Battle, in this Sea so hard a Conflict, nor so terrible a Spoil of Ships, by Reason of the Pellets which flew so thick every Way. To conclude, there was never seen so vehement a Fight, either Side endeavouring, through a headstrong and deadly Harred,

Hatred, the other's Spoil and Destruction: For albeit the Musqueteers and Harquebusers were in either Fleet many in Number, yet could they not be discerned or heard, by Reason of the more violent and roaring Shot of the great Ordnance, which followed so thick one upon the other, and play'd so well that Day on either Side, that they were thought to be equal in Number to common Harquebusers in a hot Skirmish. The Battle was not only long, but also near at Hand, within half a Musquet Shot, and that to the great Advantage of the *English*, who, with their Ships, being (as was aforesaid) excellent of Sail and Stirrage, yet less a great Deal than the *Spanish* Ships, and therefore more light and nimble, fought not at all, according to their Manner otherwise, to board them, but keeping themselves aloof at a reasonable Distance, continually beat upon the Hull and Tacklings of their Enemies Ships, which, being considerably higher, could not so conveniently beat the *English* Ships with their Ordnance.

In this Engagement, which was the greatest of all, the Lord Admiral, who was performing his Duty like a brave General, observing one of the Queen's best Ships seemingly to slacken and keep aloof, called out aloud to Capt. *Fenner*, her Commander, O GEORGE! What dost thou? *Wilt thou frustrate*

144 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*frustrate my Hope, and the Opinion I conceived of thee? Wilt thou forsake me now?* With which Words being inflamed, he instantly approached, and did the Part of a most valiant Captain.

As a Proof how vastly disproportionate Force, tho' not in Number, (for the *English*, when all united, Adventurers included, made 150 Sail, Great and Small) were these two hostile Fleets, our Author (as do others) affirm, That 90, of 130 *Spanish* Warlike Ships were of such huge Bulk and Burden, that only about 22 or 23 of the Queen's largest Men of War were seemingly a fit Match for even the weakest of them. He adds, that the Men on board the whole *English* Navy were computed at 12,000 Mariners and Soldiers.

*He says*, the Duke of *Parma*, vainly hoping, thro' the Insinuations of Cardinal *Allen*, that he should be made King of *England*, had actually surrender'd up his Government of the *Low Countries* to the Elder Count *Mausfield*.

OF all the Forces which that Prince had amassed in *Flanders*, none were so eager to go on Board as the 700 Fugitive *English*, under Sir *William Stanley*, they hoping to make the first Attack upon *England*. And here we leave this Author 'till we anon speak of the *Spanish Armada's* infamous Retreat.

And

And observe only, from other Memorials, the principal Motives which induc'd our Brave Maritime Commanders to pursue them, altho' at the greatest Hazard of their own Honour and Preservation.

THIS long Conflict being finished, and every one retiring unto his Part, the next Day following (which was *Wednesday* the 24th of the Month) was pass'd without any Thing done, because by Reason of the Fight the Day before there was spent a great Quantity of Powder and Shot. Whereupon the Lord Admiral sent diverse Barks and Pinnaces to the Shore for a new Supply of such Munition: For her Majesty, prudently foreseeing each Thing necessary for her Men, ordained that there should be sufficient Provision made, according as should be needful, as well of Victuals as of Munition. It seem'd, moreover, that Day, that the *Spanish* Fleet was nothing griev'd with that Day's Respite, but were all of them indifferently glad of that Breathing, inasmuch as thereby they had good Opportunity to look to their Leaks, whereof no Doubt they had a great Number; for they had carried away many shroud Stripes from their Enemies, their Hurts being of great Likelihood so much the more, in that the *Spaniards* were penn'd up in a narrow Room. This Day the Lord Admiral, for certain convenient Reasons,



sons, divided the whole Body of the Fleet into 4 Squadrons, by Means of which Division the Enemy might be greatly and more continually troubled. The first Squadron he kept for himself: The second he assigned unto Sir *Francis Drake*, his Vice-Admiral: The third to M. *John Hawkins*: The fourth to M. *Martin Frobisher*; and, after Noon, he gave Order, that, in the Night, 6 of the Merchants Ships in each Squadron (for that as they were of fundry Parts of the Realm, so they were equally divided into each Squadron) should charge the *Spanish* Fleet in as many Parts, at one and the same Time, that at Midnight the Enemy might be kept occupied. This Order taken (as it was very likely) might have had a good Effect as it was wisely given: But, by Reason of a great Calm which fell out, no Part of this Advise ment could be accomplished, Fortune interrupting good Counsel.

The next Day, being the 25<sup>th</sup> of the Month, and St. *James's* Day, there was a great *Spanish* Galleon left behind her Company, to the South-ward, near to the Squadron of Master *John Hawkins*; so that the Barks belonging unto the greater Ships were within Mutquet Shot of her. By Reason hereof 3 of the Galleasses, and another Ship which was in Manner of a Galleon and well appointed,

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appointed, came from the *Spanish* Fleet to succour this Galleon. Against whom went out the Lord Admiral in the *Ark*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the *Golden-Lion*, and drew so near, being towed by their Boats, that they did them much Harm, whereby one of them, requiring the Help of the Rest, being succoured by them, returned unto the Fleet: And from another, by Means of a Shot coming from the *Ark*, there was taken away her Light and thrown into the Sea; the third lost her Beck: Whereby these two Ships, the *Ark*, and the *Golden-Lion*, declared this Day to each Fleet, that they had most diligent and faithful Gunners, desirous as well of the common Good, as of the private Honour of their Leaders, the Lord Admiral, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, who went in them; which Commendation might rightly be imparted with them concerning this happy Event, because the Calm was so great, that albeit the two Fleets were well able to behold the Fortune of each of their Friends, yea, notwithstanding, they could not help them at all. At length, the Wind beginning somewhat to arise, the *Spaniards* took the Opportunity thereof, and put themselves forward to help those of their Side and succoured them honourably. After this Time, the Galleasses, in whose Puissance the greatest Hope of the *Spanish* Fleet was founded,

ded, were never seen to fight any more; such was their Entertainment that Day.

THE two Fleets, notwithstanding, approaching nigh one under another, began a Conflict; but they continued it but a While, except one Ship called the *Non-Parcil*, and another called the *Mary-Rose*, which having taken in their Top-Sails stayed themselves there, to make, as it were, a certain Experience of their Manhood upon the *Spanish* Fleet, behaving themselves honourably for a Season: In which Time the *Triumph* being to the Northward of the *Spanish* Fleet, was so far off, that, doubting lest certain of the *Spanish* Ships would assault her to the Windward, they succoured her with diverse Boats, which got the Wind easily: For the *Bear* and the *Elizabeth-Jonas*, even at one Instant, having Knowledge of the Danger wherein the others were, drew near unto them, desiring, both in Regard of the Honour of the Common-wealth, and also for the Preservation of their Friends and Countrymen, to be Partakers of the like Danger and Difficulty.

WHEREUPON, each Ship doing her Duty, they jointly saved the *Triumph* from all Harm, and recovered the Wind: And thus this Day's Work ended; whereof I may say, that the Conflict was no Whit shorter than the Day itself.

AT this present, the *English* considering the Waste of Powder and Shot had heretofore been made, the Lord Admiral determined not to assault the Enemy any more, until he was come nigh unto *Dover*, in which Place he knew he should find the Fleet under the Charge of the Lord *Seymour*, and Sir *William Winter*, who were ready to join with him, that thereby he might both fortify himself with a greater Number of Ships, and in this Manner, provide themselves of Munition from that Part of the Realm. Upon *Friday* therefore, being the 26th of the Month, ceasing from fighting, the Lord Admiral (as well for their good Deserts and honourable Service, as also to encourage others to like Valour) was desirous to advance certain Personages to the Degree of Knighthood, for that behaving themselves manfully, as well with their Ships as their good Advice, they were worthy that Degree of Honour; and so much the more worthy as, being far separated from all courtly Favour, which many Times imparts the chiefest Honours unto the least deserving Men, they declared their Valour in the Eyes of either Fleet.

THEREFORE the two Lords, *viz.* the Lord *Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Frobisher*, were called forth, and the Order

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150 OLD ENGLAND *for Ever*; or,

Order of Knighthood given them by the Lord Admiral, as their General.

THIS Day there came to the Service of her Majesty in her Fleet diverse Gentlemen, honourable both by Blood and Place, but much more in Respect of their Courage and Virtue; for that, in those public Affairs, and so necessary Service of the Wars, they willingly offered their Service in the Defence of their Country, and Honour of her Majesty.

THIS Day also, and the next, being the eighth, the *Spaniards* followed their Course quietly before the *English* Fleet: In which Time, the Earl of *Sussex*, the Lord *Backhurst*, Sir *George Carey*, Knight, and the Captains of the Forts and Castles thereabout, sent their Men with Powder, Shot and Victuals, to the Lord Admiral, to assist and help the Army. The same *Saturday*, towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* drew nigh to *Calais*, under the Coast of *Picardy*, and there suddenly cast Anchor almost right against the Left-hand of the Haven to the Westward, a little less than 5 Miles from *Calais* Cliffs. The *English* Fleet also cast Anchor within a Culver in Shot of the Enemy to the Westward.

In the mean Season, the Lord *Seymour* and Sir *William Winter* joined with the Lord Admiral, whereby the *English* Fleet increased

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increased to the Number of 140 Ships of all Sorts. But the *Spaniards*, with all Speed sent Tidings unto the Duke of *Parma* of their Arrival, who, at that present, was at *Bruges*, having retained with him all his Sea-faring Men many Days before to this Purpose, yet proceeded no farther in the Matter for that Time, altho' for such Time as the King had limited him, he, for his Part, took as much Care as might be looked for at his Hands: For having already embarked a certain Number of his Soldiers, he was careful in like Manner to dispatch the Rest as soon as they should be ready, that they might take Opportunity to come forth, furnishing them abundantly with Victuals and Munition. But, in the mean Time, such a Chance fell out as made frustrate, not only his, but the Conceit also of the Duke of *Medina*, and wholly overthrew their Enterprise; inso much that her Majesty was not a little careful and troubled in Mind concerning the Success of these Affairs, albeit she herself had committed her whole Fortune into the Hands of Almighty God.

MOREOVER also the Lord Admiral, having by certain Notice understood, that the Duke of *Parma* had prepared a great Number of Tuns of Water, and ten thousand chosen Footmen to be embarked for the joining with the Fleet, which could not be avoided

ded if the Duke of *Medina* was not compelled to quit that Place, knowing also the evident Peril which was to be feared if the *Spanish* Fleet should be suffered to refresh itself, and to be furnished with so many Soldiers, he applied his Wits so in the Deliberation of these Matters of Weight and Importance, having the Consent of others more practised, that no Time might be lost for the Furtherance of this Service; and for so much as the Forces of the Enemy were not yet united and joined together, therefore, the 28th of this Month, at Midnight, he provided 8 small Ships dressed with artificial Fire, to the Intent to drive the same upon the *Spanish* Fleet. This Thing was diligently and effectually brought to pass under the Charge of Captain *Young* and Captain *Prowse*, two valiant and courageous Men: By Reason hereof the Enemy was not only inforced to break his Sleep, but the Fire coming so suddenly upon him (not remembering himself at the very Instant of Time of any other Remedy, either more safe for himself, or more excusable) to cut his Cables, to let slip his Anchors, and to hoist up Sails, as the only Way to save his Fleet from so imminent and unexpected a Mischief. Furthermore, by Means of this Tumult and Confusion (which, in Truth, was very great) the cheif Galleas fell foul with

with another Ship, upon the Cable of whose Anchor her Stern was set so fast, that they could not loose her all the Night long, so that the next Day following she was informed with her Oars to inake toward the Land and to draw nigh to the Haven's-Mouth of *Calais*, to save herself in that Place: But, not knowing that Water, and having no profitable and convenient Counsel for the Time, she fell upon a Shelf. This Thing being in good Time espied by the Lord Admiral, he sent thither his greatest Boats under the Charge of *Aminis Preston*, his Lieutenant, and together with him *Thomas Gerard*, and *M. Harvy*, two of her Majesty's Gentlemen and Servants, with others of the Court, and of his own Servants, who fought with her, but unequally, for that the Ship being gravelled could with her Force prevail but little. In this Conflict it chanced that a Muskiet-Shot struck *Hugo de Moncada*, chief Captain of the Galleass, a noble and valiant Man, in the Head: The which Mishap, joined with the Difficulty of stirring themselves in their Defence, bred such a Despair in every Man, that the greater Part did leap into the Sea to save themselves by swimming into the Haven, altho' many of them perished in the Water. By this Disorder of the Enemy, the *Englisb*, being more secure, took her and sacked her to their great Commodity,



154 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

modity, above 100 Men being entered into her, and their Company increasung more and more.

Whereupon Monsieur Gourdon, Governor of *Catalis*, a Man of good Estimation in Respect of his Prerogative in that Place, sent his Nephew to give the *Englishs* to understand, that they should content themselves with the ordinary Spoil, and that they should leave behind them the great Ordinance, as belonging unto him by Virtue of his Office: The which Embassage sent the second Time, unto Men more intent on their Prey than other Mens Reason, made the Gentleman to be evilly entertained by our Men, in such Sort, that they would have forcibly taken from him some trifling Things about him, thinking him to be a *Spaniard*. Whereat M. Gourdon, being offended, caused certain Pieces of Ordnance to be discharged from the Town, and then the *Englishs* departed, leaving the Galleas at his Pleasure, after the Loss of some Soldiers, having notwithstanding sacked 22000 Ducats of Gold, appertaining unto the King, and 14 Coffers of Moveables of the Duke of *Medina*, with some other both Money and Moveables of other particular Men, and some Prisoners, among whom was *Don Rodrigo Mendoza*, and *Don Juan Gon-*

*ales de Solerzano*, Under-Captain of the Galleas.

DURING the Time of surprizing which Galleas, Sir *Francis Drake*, Vice-Admiral, being in the Ship called the *Revenge*, accompanied with *Thomas Fenner*, Captain of the *Non-Paréil*, with the Rest of that Squadron set upon the *Spanish* Fleet, giving them a hot Charge. Within a While after, Sir *John Hawkins*, in the *Victory*, accompanied with *Edward Fenton*, Captain of the *Mary Rose*, with *George Beeston*, Captain of the *Dreadnought*, and *Richard Hawkins*, in the *Swallow*, with the rest of that Squadron, put themselves forward and brake thro' the Midst of the *Spanish* Fleet, where there began a vehement Conflict continuing all the Morning, wherein every Captain did very honourable Service: Amongst the rest, Captain *Beeston* deserved special Praise. Unto this Fight came the Lord Admiral, accompanied with the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, and, in that Place where the Fight was made, and the Victory was gotten, they were publickly commended, who of their own Accord had made Shew of Fruits answerable to the Hope before conceived of them.

NOT far from this Place, there was a great *Spanish* Galleon seen, which was set

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upon on the one Side by the Earl of *Cumberland*, and *George Ryman* in the *Bonadventure*, and, on the other, by the Lord *Seymor*, in the Ship called the *Rainbow*, and Sir *William Winter*, in the *Vanguard*, yet she saved herself valiantly, gathering into the Body of the Fleet, altho' with ill Success, for she was so beaten and so terribly rent and torn with our great Ordnance, that the Night following, in the Sight of her own Fleet, she sunk, her Men, as it is thought, being saved. After this, Captain *Fenton*, in the *Mary-Rose*, and a *Spanish* Galleon met together, being East and West one of another, yet no higher than that their Shot might play safely, and fly between them without any great Hurt. Captain *Fenton*, notwithstanding, and those with him, were worthily commended for their Service begun and accomplished with such prosperous Boldness. On the same Day, the Deeds of Sir *Robert Southwell* were evidently seen; for being a Man born to Virtue and Commendation, and desirous to purchase Honour, to the End that he might not make frustrate the Judgment of his Sovereign, who long before had made him Knight, divining how much in Time to come he would farther the Profit of the Common-wealth of *England*, he enforced himself, not only to satisfy, either in Coun-  
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fel or Pains, the publick Intent, but also the private Commodity of the Lord Admiral, his Father-in-Law, in that he had dutifully promised him sure and faithful Service, whereupon for the same he received condign Praise of every Man. There was also particularly praised *Robert Crosse*, Captain, who in the Ship call'd the *Hope*, gave a Sign of Fruit, to be looked for in him, not inferior unto that which the Ship wherein he went did, by the Name it carried, cause us to hope for.

It fell out also, the same Day, that the Lord *Henry Seymour* and Sir *William Winter*, did so thoroughly beat two *Spanish* Galeons, altho' they were of the chiefest of them, and the best provided, that they were enforced to withdraw themselves to the Coast of *Flanders*, where, for so much as they were in a very evil Taking, as well in respect of the Slaughter of their Men, as the manifold Leaks of their Ships, they were surprized, and without Fight rifled by the *Zelanders*, and with all the Men in them carried as Prisoners unto *Flushing*. Among these, the Chiefest was *Don Diego Pimentel*, a Man very famous among his Country People.

It seems hereby that we may with Reason gather, that, in these Conflicts, many of the *Spanish* Ships perished, albeit most Men think



138 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
think that few of them miscarried. After  
this Battle, which was made the 29th of  
the Month, the Lord Admiral, the 30th  
Day, ordained, that the Lord Seymour and  
Sir William Winter should return with their  
Fleet unto their appointed Office in the  
Channel, which was to keep the Coast from  
the Danger which the Duke of Parma  
seemed to threaten: The which Duke had  
already lost the Opportunity of being able  
to do any Thing for the accomplishing of  
the common Intention of the Spaniards, or  
according to the Instructions received from  
the Spanish King, whatsoever they were: Be-  
cause the sudden and unlooked for Departure  
of the Duke of Medina, with the whole  
Fleet, from the Coast of Calais, and his  
small Abode upon any other Coast, caused  
the whole Care which the aforesaid Duke  
took upon the Main Land, to become void,  
so that he did not imbarke the Rest of his  
Men to join the Duke of Medina.  
The Lord Admiral, therefore, determined  
to follow the Spaniards only until they  
might be shut up to the Northward, whi-  
ther the Spanish Fleet directed her Course,  
but to what End it was not known: And  
that he, with the same Wind, might come to  
the Fyrth, which is upon the Coast of Scot-  
land, if so be that he saw the Enemy pass  
those Parts. Whereupon he thought more-  
over

over, that it was good to stay his Fleet from attempting ought upon the *Spaniard*, until he should have good Intelligence of their Purpose, thereby to work a Mean utterly to disperse and overthrow them. But the *Spaniards* kept their Course about the Islands of *Orkney*, declaring thereby, that they minded to return that Way into *Spain*, along by the North Coast of *Scotland*, which, as Skilful Men conjectured, would be to their evident Danger, as it fell out afterward. Perceiving therefore the Purpose of the Enemy, when he was shot up 55 Degrees 13 Minutes to the Northward, and 30 Leagues off from *Newcastle*, the Lord Admiral resolv'd with himself to let the *Spanish* Fleet keep on her Way: Albeit he at the first was minded to give them a strong Assault upon the 2d of *August*: But perswaded otherwise by a more safe Advice and Counsel, he wisely staid himself from that Action, leaving the Event which should ensue unto Fortune, who might work some farther Matter upon them; seeing the Enemy had taken that Way to save himself. Moreover, he considered the Scarcity of Munition, whereof at that present he had but little, and that upon this Occasion, for that the Ships which lay on the Coast appointed by her Majesty to carry such Pro-

visions,

160 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

vision, knew not where to find our Fleet in Time convenient.

THE *Spanish* Fleet therefore, as for her own Welfare it was requisite, having gone on so far before, the Lord Admiral resolved to put into the *Fryth* in *Scotland*, as well to refresh himself with Victuals, as also to dispatch certain other Matters which he thought necessary. But the Wind being much Westward and against him, the Day following he changed his Course, and returned into *England*, with his whole Fleet, the 7th of *August*, altho', by of a Tempest which besel them, Part of the Ships put into *Dover*, Part to *Harwich*, the rest into *Farmouth*,

WE shall now give our Readers some farther Account of the wretched Condition and Distress of the *Spanish* Fleet in their intended speedy Return to *Spain*.

THEIR Fleet, (says our Historian) by contrary Winds, and other fatal Accidents which fell out, were driven to and fro, and tossed up and down in boisterous Seas until the latter End of *September*, with fearful Success and Shipwreck, especially along the whole Coast of *Ireland*: So that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* was enforced to leave there behind him 17 good Ships, besides 15 thought to be lost in *July* and *August*. In

In their Flight, they proceeded so far North as 62 Degrees, losing two Ships on the Coast of *Norway*, one a large Man of War. Provisions and Stores of all Sorts began to fail them; and as they despaired of a Supply in *Norway*, they cast over-board all their Draught Horses and Mules, fearing to want fresh Water, and being distant from any Land, at least 42 Leagues. Here the Duke of *Medina* gave Command, that all should bear away for the Bay of *Biscay*: He himself, with about 25 other Ships which were best provided with Necessaries, made all the Sail they could a-cross the Main Ocean, and got safe thither. The Residue, being about 40, under Conduct of Vice-Admiral *Oquendo*, fell nearer in with the Coast of *Ireland*, intended for *Cape Clare*, as hoping there to get fresh Water, and such other Refreshments as they grievously wanted.

AMONG those which suffer'd in the Shipwreck, or for want of necessary Provisions, were *Oquendo's* huge Galleas, two great *Venetians*, called *La Ratta* and *La Belanzara*, with 36 (tho' as some others say 38) lost in different Tempests, with almost all the Persons they carried. Several of their Ships were by a strong Westerly Wind carried again into the *British* Channel, some of which were pick'd up by the *English*, others by the *Rockbellers*; also one of the



162 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

four great Galleasses was by the Tempest driven on the Coast of Normandy: So that (says our Author) of 134 Ships which set out from *Lisbon*, there returned home only 53, small and great; viz. of the four Galleasses but one; and but one of the four Gallies: Of the 91 great Galeons and Hulks, 33 got Home, and 58 were missing. In short, 81 Ships were missing; and, among those 53 which got Home, are reckon'd all such as quitted the Fleet before it entered the Chanel. Of 32,000 Men, the much better Half never returned to *Spain*, and of such as did, many died soon after their Arrival, mostly thro' the Wants and Fatigues they had undergone in this disastrous Voyage. Two of the best Galeons took Fire in the Haven and were consumed, and divers others met with such like Misfortunes.

AMONG the few who escaped out of the great Galleas at *Calais*, wherein her brave Commander, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, lost his Life, was the *Veedor*, or Inspector-General of the Fleet, named *Antonio de Manriquez*, who first brought King *Philip* Tidings of their ill Success; to which that flagmatic Prince gravely made Answer; *I sent my Armada to fight against Hereticks, and not against Rocks and Tempests.* - - - A *Spaniard* said on the Occasion, *I can't believe*

believe but that JESU'S CHRIST himself is turn'd Lutheran; else these Hereticks never durst have look'd our Armada in the Face!

Here followeth a particular Account of the miserable Condition of the Spanish Fleet, fled to the North of Scotland, and scattered, for many Weeks, on the Sea-Coast of Ireland, written Octob. 19, 1588.

ABOUT the Beginning of August, the Fleet was, by Tempest, driven beyond the Isles of Orkney, the Place being above 80 Leagues North Latitude (as already mentioned) a very unaccustom'd Climate for the young Gallants of Spain, who did never before feel Storms on the Sea, or cold Weather in August; and about those Northern Islands, their Mariners and Soldiers died daily by Multitudes, as by their Bodies cast on Land did appear: And, after twenty Days or more, having passed their Time in great Miseries, they being desirous to return Home to Spain, sail'd very far Southward into the Ocean to recover Spain. But the Almighty, who always avenges the Cause of his afflicted People, who put their Confidence in him, and brings down his Enemies, who exalt themselves to the Heavens, order'd the Winds to be violently contrarious to this proud Navy, that, it was

164 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
was with Force dis-severed on the High-Seas to the West of *Ireland*; and so a great Number of them were driven into divers dangerous Bays, and upon Rocks, all along the West and North Parts of *Ireland*, in sundry Places distant above an hundred Miles asunder, and there cast away; some sunk, some broken, some run on Sands, and some were burned by the *Spaniards* themselves.

As in the North Part of *Ireland*, towards *Scotland*, between the two Rivers of *Lough-faile* and *Loughswilly*, nine were driven on Shore, and many of them broken; and the *Spaniards* forced to come to Land for Succour among the *Wild Irish*.

In another Place, twenty Miles South-West from thence, in a Bay called *Calbeg-ga*, three other Ships were driven also upon the Rocks.

In another Place Southwards, being a Bay called *Borreys*, twenty Miles Northward from *Galloway*, belonging to the Earl of *Ormond*, one special great Ship of 1000 Tons, with 50 Brass Pieces, and four Cannons, was sunk, and all the People drowned, saving 16, who, by their Apparel, as it is advertised out of *Ireland*, seemed to be Persons of great Distinction.

Then, to come more to the Southward, thirty Miles upon the Coast of *Thomond*, North

North from the River of *Shannan*, two or three more perished, whereof one was burnt by the *Spaniards* themselves, and so driven to the *Shore*: Another was of *San Sebastian*, wherein were 300 Men, who were also all drowned, saving 60; a third Ship, with all her Lading, was cast away at a Place called *Breckan*.

IN another Place, opposite *Sir Tirlogh O'Brien's* House, there was another great Ship lost, supposed to be a *Galleass*.

THE Losses above-mentioned were betwixt the 5th and 10th of *September*; as was advertised from sundry Places out of *Ireland*; So as, by Accompt from the 21st of *July*, when this Navy was first beaten by the Navy of *England*, until the 10th of *September*, being the Space of Seven Weeks and more, it is very probable, that the said Navy had never had good Day or Night.

OF the Residue of this Navy, Report is also made, that many of them have been seen lying off and upon the Coast of *Ireland*, tossed by the Winds in such a Sort, as it is also doubted, that many of them shall hardly recover *Spain*, if they be so weakened, for Lack of Victuals and Mariners, as Part of their Companies left on Land do lamentably report.

As.



166 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

As the Queen's Majesty was now from all Intelligence thoroughly assured of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia's* (who, as has been observ'd before, was Generalissimo of all the King of *Spain's* Forces, as well the Land as Sea) Return into *Spain*, and that her Seas were clear and free from all her Enemies, and having called Home the Lord *Seymour* with his Fleet, it seem'd good unto her (as a convenient Thing) that her People should render unto Almighty God as great Thanks as might be, for that it had pleas'd him thus to work and bring about the Deliverance of them all. And therefore, the 10th of *November*, by Publick Edict and Order from her Majesty, there was generally made, throughout the whole Realm, a most frequent Assembly of all Sorts of People, publicly to give Thanks unto God; all the Day long, for so singular a Benefit, received with this Intention, that the Remembrance of the said Benefit should upon the same Day of every Year to ensue, be renewed in the Minds and Eyes of all Men throughout the whole Nation, with an evident and religious Acknowledgment, that the common Safety of them all was accomplished by the special Favour of God, the Father of all good Things.

HER Majesty also being afterwards desirous to do the like in her own Behalf (as was

was convenient) came into the Church of St. Paul in London, on Sunday, being the 24th of the same Month, with a most decent Order, and Assemblies of all the Magistrates and Companies of the City standing in a Corner of the Street, replenish'd most abundantly with People, thro' which her Majesty was to pass, being accompanied with such a Princely Train of all those who had been Instruments of that notable Victory, that it seem'd her Majesty, together with the others, having gotten the Victory, was desirous, in a triumphing Manner, to shew her thankful Mind unto the *Londoners* also, for the Charges and Pains they had undertaken, all the Year before, in the Service of the Crown and the Common-wealth, together with the Increase of their own Reputation, being accounted the Foundation and chief Stay of all the other Parts of the Realm. Wherein her Majesty followed the Example of divers Kings, her Predecessors, who, upon special Favour, according as good Occasions mov'd them thereunto, have given many large Privileges and Liberties unto the said City, which, at this Day, is doubtless more populous, more wealthy, more mighty, and more free, than ever it was heretofore.

168 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

It was in the Reign of glorious Queen *Elizabeth*, that the greatest Part of *America* was discovered: *Sr Walter Raleigh*, in honour to that Virgin Queen, nam'd *Virginia*; and of this Country, and *Maryland*, which are of so great Importance to *England*, I shall give a Description.

*VIRGINIA* and *MARYLAND* were discover'd Anno 1606, by the same Adventurers, and retain'd the same Name until the Eighth Year of King *Charles I.* Anno 1632, when that Prince granted that Part of *Virginia* which lay North of *Potomack* River, and was not then planted, unto *Cecilus Calvert*, *Ld. Baltimore*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and his Heirs: And this Part of the Country was afterwards call'd *Maryland*, in Honour of the then Queen-Consort, *Henrietta-Maria*, youngest Daughter of the *French King*, *Henry V.*

THE Lord *Baltimore* having obtained this Grant, sent over his Brother, the Honourable *Leonard Calvert*, Esq; with several Roman Catholick Gentlemen and other Adventurers, to the Number of Two Hundred, to take Possession of the Country; who setting Sail from *England* on the 22<sup>d</sup> of November, 1633, arrived at *Point Comfort*, in the Bay of *Chesapeake*, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February following, where being kindly

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received and supplied with Provisions by the *English* of *Virginia*, they continued on their Voyage Northward to the River *Patomack*, appointed to be the Boundary between *Virginia* and *Maryland*, on the West Side of the Bay.

THE Adventurers sailed up this River, and landing in several Places on the Northern Shore, acquainted the Natives they were come to settle among them and trade with them; but the Natives seemed rather to desire their Absence than their Company. However, there were no Acts of Hostility committed on either Side, and the *English* returning down the River *Patomack* again, made choice of a Place near the Mouth of a River (which falls into it, and by them called *St. George's River*) to plant the first Colony. They advanced afterwards to an Indian Town, called *Toamaco*, then the Capital of the Country, and at a Conference with the *Werance* or Sovereign of the Place, to whom they made considerable Presents, the *Werance* consented the *English* should dwell in one Part of the Town, reserving the other for his own People 'till the Harvest was over, and then agreed to quit the whole entirely to the *English*, and retire further into the Country, which they did accordingly; and the following *March* Mr. *Calvert* and the Planters were left in the

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quiet



quiet Possession of the Town, to which they gave the Name of *St. Mary's*; and it was agreed on both Sides, that if any Wrong was done by either Party, the Nation offending should make full Satisfaction for the Injury. The Reason the *Toamaco Indians* were so ready to enter into a Treaty with the *English*, and yield them Part of their Country, was in hopes of obtaining their Protection and Assistance against the *Sasquahannab Indians*, their Northern Neighbours, with whom they were then at War; and indeed the *Toamaco Indians* were upon the Point of abandoning their Country, to avoid the Fury of the *Susquahannab Nation*, before the *English* arriv'd; from whence it appears, that the Adventurers sent over by the Lord *Baltimore* cannot be charg'd with any Injustice in settling themselves in this Part of *America*, being invited to it by the Original Inhabitants.

THE *English* being thus settled at *St. Mary's*, applied themselves with great Diligence to cultivating the Ground, and raised large Quantities of *Indian Corn*, while the Natives went every Day into the Woods to hunt for Game, bringing home Venison and Turkeys to the *English* Colony in abundance, and for which they receiv'd Knives, Tools, and Toys in return. And thus both Nations lived in the greatest Friendship, doing

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ing good Offices to each other, till some of the *English* in *Virginia*, envious of the Happiness of this thriving Colony, suggested to the *Indians*, that these Strangers were not really *English*, as they pretended, but *Spaniards*, and would infallibly enslave them, as they had done many of their Country-men: And the *Indians* were so credulous as to believe it, and appear'd jealous of Mr. *Calvert*, making Preparations as if they intended to fall upon the Strangers, which the *English* perceiving, stood all upon their Guard, and erected a Fort for their Security, on which they planted several Pieces of Ordnance, at the Firing whereof the *Tomacoes* were so terrify'd, that they abandon'd their Country without any other Compulsion, and left the *English* in Possession of it, who receiving Supplies and Reinforcements continually from *England*, and having no other Enemy to contend with than Agues and Fevers (which swept off some of them before they found out a proper Remedy for the Climate) they soon became a flourishing People, many Roman Catholic Families of Quality and Fortune transporting themselves hither to avoid the Penal Laws made against them in *England*; and *Maryland* has been a Place of Refuge for those of that Persuasion from that Day to this.

DURING the Grand Rebellion in England the Lord *Baltimore's* Family were deprived of the Government of this Province, but were restor'd to their Right by King *Charles II.* soon after his Restoration, Whereupon the Lord *Baltimore* sent over his Son, *Charles Calvert*, afterwards Lord *Baltimore*, to be Governor of *Maryland*, who continued in that Post upwards of twenty Years (long after his Father's Death) by whose Prudence the Colony became almost as considerable as *Virginia*, for its Tobacco and other Products of the Soil: And all the *Indian* Nations on that Side put themselves under their Protection. The *Indian* Chiefs were appointed, at least approved and confirmed in their Commands by the Lord *Baltimore*, the Proprietor, whose Success is to be ascribed in a great measure to the Endeavours he used to cultivate a good Correspondence with the *Indian* Nations, and to give them as little Offence as possible. We can't learn that this Colony was ever in a State of War with the Natives, or ever receiv'd any Injury from them, unless in the Year 1667, when the *Indians* being at War with the *English* of *Virginia*, plunder'd the Frontiers of *Moryland*, and Half a Dozen People lost their Lives; but this proceeded from a Mistake; Peace was soon restored upon

upon the *Indians* making Satisfaction for the Outrage.

AT the Revolution the Lord *Baltimore* was depriv'd of the Power of appointing a Governor and other Officers, and the Government of that Province fell under the same Regulation as other Plantations which are immediately subject to the Crown. The *Baltimore* Family also were in Danger of losing their Propriety on account of their Religion, by the Act which requires all Roman Catholick Heirs to profess the Protestant Religion, on Pain of being depriv'd of their Estates: But that prudent Family thought fit to profess the Protestant Religion rather than lose their Inheritance; and the present Lord *Baltimore* is now both Proprietor and Governor of *Maryland*, being one of the noblest Estates enjoy'd by a Subject of *Britain*; for he is still entitled to a Duty on every Hoghead of Tobacco exported, enjoys several fair Manours, which may be stiled his Demefne Lands, and has a Rent paid him by every Planter, besides other Perquisites.

THE Governor, however, as has been already observed, is now appointed by the Crown, as are also all the Members of the Council. The Assembly is chosen by the Freeholders of the respective Counties, as in *Virginia*; and in the Governor, Council, and



174 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

and Assembly, the Legislative Power is lodg'd. The Governor has a Negative, as the King has in *England*, and their Acts must be confirm'd by the King: However, they are in Force till the King disapproves of them.

SINCE the *Indians* transfer'd or yielded this Province to the *English*, it has been divided into ten Counties, Six on the West Side of the Bay and Four on the East Side of it: Those on the West Side, taking them from North to South, are, 1. *St. Mary's County*. 2. *Charles County*. 3. *Prince George County*. 4. *Calvert County*. 5. *Anne Arundel County*; and the 6th, *Baltimore County*.

THE Counties on the East Side of the Bay, beginning also from the South, are, 1. *Somerset County*. 2. *Dorchester County*. 3. *Talbot County*. 4. *Cecil County*. As for the County of *Kent*, that or the greatest Part of it is now held to be in *Pensilvania*.

*St. Mary's*, the Capital of the County of the same Name, and for some Time of the whole Province, is situated on the East Side of the River *St. George*, in 38 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude. This, as has been intimated, was the first Town in *Maryland*, built by the *English*, who rais'd a Fort for its Defence; but I don't perceive in

in its most flourishing State it had more than three or fourscore Houses in it, and since the Seat of the Government has been remov'd to *Annapolis*, seems to be upon the Decline; for the same Humour prevails here as in *Virginia*, of living on their respective Plantations, and not in Towns. In this County also are the Parishes of *Herbington*, *St. Clement's*, and *St. John's*; and here is a noble Seat of the Lord *Baltimore*, the Proprietor, call'd *Mettapany*, situate near the Mouth of the River *Patuxent*.

IN *Prince Charles* County, which lies North of *St. Mary's*, are the Parishes of *Bristol* and *Piscataway*; and in that of *Prince George* the Parish of *Masterkout*. In *Calvert* County, which is divided from *Charles* County by the River *Patuxent*, are the Parishes of *Abingdon*, *Warrington*, and *Calberton*. In the County of *Anne Arundel*, which lies North of *Charles* County, the chief Town is *Annapolis*, now the Capital of the Province, and formerly call'd *Severn*, being situate on the River of that Name, in 39 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude: Here the Courts of Justice and the General Assemblies were order'd to be held in the Year 1699, and this has ever since been the Residence of the Governor, notwithstanding which, 'tis said there are not yet an hundred Houses built in the Town. In *Balti-*

more

176 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*more* County, which lies between *Anne Arundel* County and the Province of *Pensilvania*, is the Parish of *Baltimore*, situate on the North-West Part of the Bay of *Chelepeak*.

In *Somerſet* County, which is the most Southerly County on the East Side of the Bay, are the Town and Parish of *Somerſet*. In *Dorcheſter* County, which lies North of *Somerſet*, are the Town and Parish of *Dorcheſter*, beſides a great many *Indian* Towns. In *Talbot* County, which lies North of *Dorcheſter*, are the Parishes of *Oxford*, *St. Mary's*, and *Bolingbroke*; and *Cecil*, the most Northerly County on the Side of the Bay, is bounded both on the North and East by the Province of *Pensilvania*; but the Limits hereof will be more particularly deſcribed when we come to treat of *Pensilvania*.

In this Province are more *Indian* Towns and better peopled than in *Virginia*, eſpecially on the East Side of the Bay, there never having been any Wars, and ſcarce any Miſunderſtanding between the *Engliſh* and the Natives. The Houſes of the *Indians*, which they call *Wigwams*, or *Wigwags*, are of two Sorts, the ſmaller reſembling a Bee-Hive, and the larger being of an oblong Form, are roofed like a Barn, and both built with green Poles and covered with

with Bark, which they tie together with the Fibres of Roots, or the Rind of Trees. Their Windows are only Holes in the Sides of the House, which they close with Shutters of Bark in bad Weather, leaving only the Windows open to the Leeward. Their Fire-hearth is in the Middle of the House, and a little Hole at the Top of it to let out the Smoke; but it not being confin'd, as in a Chimney, the Smoke often spreads all over the House, and can only be borne by those who have been bred up in such Places from their Infancy. Their Door is no more than a Piece of Matting hung upon a String, and when they go far from Home they barricade the Door with great Pieces of Timber, to keep out wild Beasts. The House seldom has more than one Room, unless it be a great Man's Palace, which has usually some Partitions in it made with Poles and Matts.

As to their Furniture, the better Sort have Matts or Carpets to sit on, and usually sit with their Legs stretch'd out, and not cross-legg'd, like the Eastern Nations; their Lodging is upon a Couch of Boards or Reeds, fix'd to the Side of the House, and cover'd with Matts or Skins. In the Winter they will lie upon the Skin of a Bear, or some other Animal, about the Fire, covering themselves with their Watchcoats, but



but in warm Weather they lie only on a Matt, rolling up another Matt for their Pillow. When they are at War, or apprehensive of the Approach of an Enemy, they surround their Pallisadoes, or at least the Houses of their *Werances*, or Chiefs, within which they all retire with their Families and Effects, as in *Virginia*, upon receiving any Alarm.

THE Stature of the *Indians*, as has been observed in *Virginia*, is not different from that of the *English*: Their Bodies are slait, and well-proportion'd; their Features tolerable; their Complexion would be the same as that of the People in the same Latitude in *Europe*, if they did not take a great deal of Pains to make them darker by greasing, and then exposing themselves to the Sun from their Infancy: The Features of their Women are not very engaging, and following the same Custom of anointing themselves, and lying in the Sun as the Men do, their Complexions are very dark, and some have observed they have an odd Cast with their Eyes, which are generally black.

THE Hair of both Sexes is black; the Men cut theirs short in various Forms, and either grease or paint it, and Persons of Distinction leave a long Lock behind. The Men pull off the Hair of their Beards by the Roots with *Twetsets* made of Shells, and

neither

neither Men or Women suffer any Hair to grow on their Bodies: The Women wear the Hair of their Heads very long; sometimes flowing down their Backs, and at others tied up with a Fillet, or Coronet of Shells and Beads; and Men of Distinction as well as the Women, wear Coronets of Shells and Beads of various Colours: The Women also have Chains of the same about their Necks, and Bracelets on their Arms.

THE common People go bare-headed, only sticking some beautiful Feathers on their Crowns; and when they are at work, or employ'd in Hunting, Shooting, and other Exercises, they wear only a Piece of Skin, wrapped about their Loins, being naked upwards to the Middle of the Thigh downwards; but when they are dressed, especially in cold Weather, they have a Mantle about their Shoulders, made of the Skin of a Deer, or some other Animal, which they sometimes wear loose, and at others tied close about them, and they seldom go Abroad without their Bow, their Quiver of Arrows, and their *Tomahawk*, or Hatchet: They have a kind of Shoes made of a Piece of Deer-skin, which they lace, or fasten with a Thong on the top of the Foot. The Dress of the Women does not differ from that of the Men, except it be in their Ornaments,

180 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*vis.* their Necklaces, Bracelets, &c. and in the wearing of their Hair.

THEIR Priests have a Garment different from other Men, resembling a short Cloak, hung on one Shoulder, which being fastened about the Neck reaches down to the middle of the Thigh.

THE *Indians* of *Maryland* are allowed to be Men of quick and sprightly Parts, like their Neighbours of *Virginia*, but want like them the Advantage of Letters and Education. They are nimble, active, and indefatigable in their warlike Expeditions, Hunting and Journeys. There are also Men of Courage among them, but they are generally timorous, revengeful and implacable; and when they gain a Victory, or get an Advantage of an Enemy, destroy Man, Woman and Child. Their little Kingdoms and Tribes are perpetually in a State of War, which very much lessens their Numbers; and if one Man kills another of the same Clan, the Quarrel is never forgotten or forgiven, but they endeavour to retaliate Injury for Injury, from Generation to Generation. I don't find their Princes interpose in these Cases, but leave every Man to take his own Revenge. Mr. *Hugh Jones*, in his Account of the *Indians* of *Maryland*, says, though they are timorous and cowardly in Fight, yet when they are taken Prisoners, and

and condemned to Death, they die like Heroes, braving the most exquisite Torments, and singing even upon the Rack.

As to their Manufactures and Mechanick Arts, if we consider the Badness of their Tools, they might be esteemed excellent Workmen, especially as they had no particular Trades amongst them; but every Man was his own Artificer, and did the Work of a Carpenter, Taylor, Shoe-maker, &c. for himself.

WHEN the *English* arrived there, they had no sort of Iron Tools or Instruments; their Axes were sharp Stones set in Wood, with these they made the Bows of the Locust-Tree, an excessive hard Wood when it is dry, but they fashioned them therefore while it was green and pleasant: Their Arrows they made of Reeds or Sticks, that wanted but little fashioning; and fledged their Arrows with Turkeys feathers, which they glued to the small End of the Shaft, and armed the Head with a white transparent Stone, a Bone or the Spur of a wild Turkey.

They procured Fire, by rubbing a Stick of hard Wood upon a Piece that was soft and dry: They felled Trees of a prodigious Size, by making a little Fire about the Root, and keeping the Flame from ascending, till they burnt away so much of the Basis, that the least Blast of Wind brought it down; and as it



182 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

it lay on the Ground, they burnt it of what Length they pleased: Then they raised it to a convenient Height to work upon, and burnt it hollow, when they intended to make a Boat of it, removing the Fire from Place to Place, till they had made it as deep as they designed; after which, they scraped it smooth, and the Canoe, or Boat, was finished, being all of a Piece: These Canoes are from ten to forty Foot in Length.

IN order to clear the Ground for a Plantation, they used to chop the Trees round with their Stone Hatchets, or *Tomahawks*, which killed them in two or three Years, and the Trees fell of themselves; but they were glad to change their *Tomahawks* for *European* Axes, which make much quicker Dispatch.

THEIR Household Utensils were earthen Pots, in which they boiled their Meat. Baskets made of Silk-Grass, with Gourds or Calabashes, served them for Dishes and Bowls; a Shell was their Spoon, and their Knife an edged Reed or Flint. Their Matts were made of Rushes; their Mantles of the Skins of Beasts, which served them also for Bedcloaths; and as they never troubled themselves to ~~shape~~ their Cloaths to their Bodies, it did not require much Skill or Pains to finish them. The Fibres of the Bark of Trees, as well as Silk Grass, served them for

for Thread and Cordage, and their Needle was a Thorn, or the Bone of a Fish.

THE *Indians* here have no set Meals, but eat all Day long when they have Plenty of Provisions, especially when they have such Food as they like: However, no Men endure Hunger with more Patience in a Time of Scarcity; and thus they make more tolerable, 'tis said, by girding up their Bel-lies, which make them not so sensible of the Want of Food as they would otherwise be.

THEY eat Fish, Flesh and Fowl of almost all Sorts, and even some Species of Snakes and Insects, such as Grubs, the Nympe of Wasps; some Sort of *Scarabei*, *Cicade*, &c. They eat also Pens, Beans, and all manner of Pulse parch'd and boild. Their Bread is made of *Indian* Corn, wild Oats, or the Seed of the Sun-flower; but they never eat Bread with their Meat. They had no Salt, but used the Ashes of Hiccorry Stick-Weed, or some other Plants that afforded a Salt-Ash, to season their Meat: And there is no Food they seem fonder of than the green Ears of *Indian* Corn roasted, for which Reason they plant it at different Times in the Spring, that the Season may last the longer.

THEY stew their Meat most commonly; they also broil and roast it against the Fire, and frequently put Fish and Flesh into their

*Hommony*

184 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*Hommony* (which is *Indian* Corn stewed over a gentle Fire for ten or twelve Hours, till it is thick as Furnetory or butter'd Wheat.) They either broil their Meat upon the Coals, or on a hot Hearth, and frequently dry it upon a wooden Grate, which stands very high above the Fire, which they call barbacuing it; and this dry'd Flesh they usually take with them on a March, or in their hunting Expeditions, and stew it as they want it. They flea and embowel their Venison and other Meat as the *Europeans* do, and pull and draw their Fowls, but they dress their Fish without gutting or scaling; however, they do not eat the Guts as the *Europeans* do those of Woodcocks and Larks.

THE stewed Umbles of a Deer is a great Dish with them, and the Soup made thereof much admired. Their Desert consists of dry'd Peaches and other Fruits. They eat no kind of Sallads or Sauce with their Meats, but boil Roots with it, and make it pretty savory with Pepper, &c. in the dressing. They eat also Trubs, Earth, Nuts, wild Onions, and a tuberos Root called *Tuckaboe*, which grows in boggy Grounds and is about the bigness of a Potatoc, which it resembles in Taste.

As for Liquor, I don't find they drank any Thing but Water, till the *Englisb* taught them better (or rather worse;) and it is remarkable that

that though they had a great Variety of fine Springs, they always chose Pond Water, or any other that had been exposed to the Air and Sun, to drink, rather than Fountain or Well-Water. They are now very fond of every kind of strong Liquor the *English* have, and will be drunk with it as often as they can get it. They sit Drinking, and at their Meals, on a Mat on the Ground, with their Legs stretched out at Length before them, and the Cup or Dish between their Legs; and for this Reason seldom more than two eat together.

As to their Exercises and Diversions, there are no People more constantly employ'd in Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling, than the *Indians* of this Country, during the respective Seasons; but these may be looked upon rather as their Business than Diversions, as they supply their Families with Food by these Means the greatest Part of the Year: Their Domestick Diversions are Singing, Instrumental Musick, and Dancing; which not differing from the Musick and Dancing of the *Virginia Indians* already described, I shall not weary the Reader with the Repetition of what has been already said upon that Head. The Diversions of the *English* both here and in *Virginia* are chiefly Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling; some use Stalking-Horses, whereby they cover themselves from



the Sight of the Deer, till they come within reach of them; others cut down Trees for the Deer to browse upon, and lie in wait behind them: Others again set Stakes in Pits near their Fences, where the Deer have been used to leap into a Field of Peas, which they love extremely. These Stakes they so place as to run into the Body of the Deer when he pitches, by which Means they impale him; and for a Temptation to the Leap, take down the Top-part of the Fence.

THEY hunt their Hares (which are very numerous) on Foot with Mungrils or swift Dogs, which either catch them quickly, or force them to a hole in a hollow Tree, whether all their Hares generally tend when they are closely pursued. As soon as they are thus hol'd and have crawl'd up into the Body of the Tree, they kindle a Fire, and smother them with Smoak, till they let go their hold, and fall to the Bottom stifled, from whence they take them: If they have a mind to spare their Lives, upon turning them loose, they will be as fit as ever to Hunt at another Time, for the Mischief done them by the Smoak immediately wears off again.

THEY have another sort of Hunting, which is very diverting, and that they call Vermine-Hunting. It is perform'd on Foot with small Dogs in the Night, by the Light of

of the Moon or Stars, Thus in Summer-time they find abundance of Raccoons, Opossums, and Foxes, in the Corn-Fields, and about their Plantations; but at other Times they must go into the Woods for them. The Method is to go out with three or four Dogs, and as soon as they come to the Place, they bid the Dogs seek out, and all the Company follow immediately. Wherever a Dog barks, you may depend upon finding the Game, and this Alarm draws both Men and Dogs that Way. If this Sport be in the Woods, the Game, by that Time you come near it, is perhaps mounted on the Top of an high Tree, and then they detach a nimble Fellow up after it, who must have a Scuffle with the Beast before he can throw it down to the Dogs; and then the Sport increases to see the Vermine encounter those little Curs. In this sort of Hunting they also carry their great Dogs out with them, because Wolves, Bears, Panthers, wild Cats, and all other Beasts of Prey, are Abroad in the Night.

FOR Wolves they make Traps, and set Gins baited in the Woods, so that when he offers to seize the Bait, he pulls the Trigger, and the Gun discharges upon him. They have many pretty Devices besides the Gun to take wild Turkeys.

188 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

THE *Indian* Invention of Wiers in Fishing is mightily improv'd by the *English*, besides which they make use of Seins, Trolls, Casting-Nets, Setting-Nets, Hand-fishing, and Angling, and in each find abundance of Diversion. Like those of the *Euxine* Sea, they also fish with Spilyards, which is a long Line staked out in the River, and hung with a great many Hooks on short Strings, fastened to the main Line about three or four Foot asunder, supported by Stakes, or buoy'd up with Guards. They use likewise the *Indian* way of striking by the Light of a Fire in the Night.

THEIR Fowling is answerable to their Fishing for Plenty of Game in its proper Season. Some Plantations have a vast Variety of it.

THE admirable OEconomy of the Beavers deserves to be particularly remember'd. They cohabit in one House, are incorporated in a regular Form of Government, something like Monarchy, and have over them a Superintendent, which the *Indians* call *Pericu*: He leads them out to their several Employments, which consists in felling of Trees, biring off the Branches, and cutting them into certain Lengths suitable to the Business they design them for; all which they perform with their Teeth. When this is done, the *Pericu* orders several of his Subjects

jects to join together and take up one of those Logs, which they must carry to their House or Damm, as Occasion requires. He walks in State by them all the while, and sees that every one bears his equal Share of the Burden, while he bites with his Teeth and latches with his Tail those that lag behind and do not lend all their Strength. Their way of Carriage is upon their Tail. They commonly build their Houses in Swamps, and then to raise the Water to a convenient Height, they make a Damm with Logs and a binding sort of Clay, so firm, that tho' the Water runs continually over, it cannot wash it away. Within these Damms they will inclose Water enough to make a Pool like a Mill-Pond; and if a Mill happen to be built on the same Stream below their Damm, the Miller, in a dry Season, finds it worth his while to cut it to supply his Mill with Water; upon which Disaster, the Beavers are so expert at their Work, that in one or two Nights time they will repair the Breach and make it perfectly whole again. Sometimes they build their Houses in a broad Marsh, where the Tide ebbs and flows, and then they make no Damm at all. The Doors in to their Houses are under Water. I have been at the demolishing one of these Houses, that was found in a Marsh, and was surprised to find it fortify'd with Logs that were fix



190 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

six Foot long and ten Inches through, and had been carry'd at least, one Hundred and fifty Yards: This House was three Stories high, and contain'd five Rooms, that is to say, two in the lower, two in the middle Story, and but one at the top. These Creatures have a great deal of Policy, and know how to defeat all the Subtilty and Stratagems of the Hunter, who seldom can meet with them, tho' they are in great Numbers all over the Country.

THEY have many Horses foal'd in the Woods of the Up-lands, that never were in Hand, and are as shy as any Savage Creature: These having no Mark upon them, belong to him that first takes them. However, the Captor commonly purchases these Horses very dear, by spoiling better in the Pursuit, in which Case he has little to make himself amends, besides the Pleasure of the Chase: And very often this is all he has for it, for the wild Horses are so swift that 'tis difficult to catch them, and when they are taken, 'tis odds but their Grease is melted, or else being old, they are so sullen that they can't be tamed.

The Diseases of the *Indians* proceed from Heats and Colds, and are usually remov'd by Sweating; but if the Humour fixes, and occasions a Pain in any of their Limbs, they endeavour to cure it by burning the Part with

with a live Coal, with which having made a Sore, they keep it running till the Humour is drawn off.

THEY also scarify the Part, and suck the Sore, and sometimes make use of Reeds for Cauterizing, which they heat over the Fire till they are ready to flame, and then apply them upon a piece of wet Leather to the griev'd Part, which makes the Heat more intense. As for the rest of their Remedies, I must refer the Reader to *Virginia*, and consider, in the next Place, the Diseases the *English* are subject to in this Part of the World.

DISTEMPERS come not here (says my Author) by choking up the Spirits with a foggy and thick Air, as in some Northern Climes, nor by a stifling Heat, which exhales the Vigour of those that dwell in a more Southerly Latitude, but by a wilful and foolish indulging themselves in those Pleasures which in a warm and fruitful Country Nature lavishes upon Mankind for their Happiness, and not for their Destruction.

THUS I have seen Persons impatient of Heat lie almost naked upon the cold Grass in the Shades, and there often forgetting themselves fall asleep; nay, many are so imprudent as to do this in an Evening, and perhaps lie so all Night, when between the Dew from Heaven, and the Damps from the  
poor

poor Earth, such Impressions are made upon the Humours of their Body as occasion fatal Distempers.

THUS also I have seen Persons put into a great Heat by excessive Action, and in the midst of that Heat strip off their Cloaths and expose their open Pores to the Air: Nay I have known some mad enough in this hot Condition to take huge Draughts of cold Water, or perhaps of Milk and Water, which they esteem much more cold in Operation than Water alone.

AND thus likewise have I seen several People (especially new Comers) so intemperate in devouring the pleasant Fruits, that they have fallen into dangerous Fluxes and Surfeits. These and such like Disorders are the chief Occasion of their Diseases.

THE first Sickness that any new Comer happens to have there he unfairly calls a *Seasoning*, be it Fever, Ague, or any Thing else that his own Folly or Excesses bring upon him.

THEIR Intermittent-Fevers as well as their Agues are very troublesome if a fit Remedy be not apply'd; but of late the Doctors there have made use of the *Cortex Peruvian* with Success, and find that it seldom or never fails to remove the Fits. The Planters too have several Roots natural to the Country, which in this Case they cry up as infallible;

infallible; and I have found by several Examples a total Immersion in cold Spring Water, just at the Accession of the Fit, an infallible Cure.

WHEN these Damps, Colds and Disorders affect the Body more gently, and do not seize People violently at first, then for want of some timely Application (the Planters abhorring all Physick, except in desperate Cases) these small Disorders are suffer'd to go on until they grow into a Cachexy, by which the Body is over-run with obstinate scorbutick Humours: And this in a more fierce and virulent Degree I take to be the *Taws*.

THE Gripes is a Distemper of the *Charibbee* Islands, and not of *Virginia* or *Maryland*, and seldom gets Footing there, and then only upon great Provocations, namely, by the Intemperances before-mention'd, together with an unreasonable Use of filthy and unclean Drinks. Perhaps too it may come by new unfine Cyder, Perry, or Peach-Drink, which the People are impatient to drink before it is ready; or by the excessive Use of Lime-juice and foul Sugar in Punch and Flip; or else by the constant drinking of uncorrected Beer made of some windy unwholsome Things as some People make use of in Brewing.

No. 13.

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194 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

WE shall now proceed to give an Account of that Part of *AMERICA*, called *NEW ENGLAND*.

UNDER the General Title of *New England* are comprehended the several Colonies or Governments of, 1. The *Massachusetts*; 2. *New Hampshire*; 3. *Connecticut*; and, 4. *Rhode Island*, and *Providence Plantations*.

THIS Country received the Name of *New-England* from Prince *Charles*, afterwards King *Charles I.* and is situated between 41 and 45 Degrees of North Latitude, and between 67 and 73 Degrees of Western Longitude, being bounded by *Canada* on the North West, by *New Scotia*, on the North East, by the *Atlantic* Ocean on the East and South, and by the Province of *New York* on the West; and as it stretches along the said Ocean from the South West to the North West, is upwards of three Hundred Miles in Length, and from one Hundred to two Hundred Miles in Breadth.

THIS like other uncultivated Countries was one great Forest, covered with excellent Timber when the *English* first visited these Shores: The Land next the Sea being generally low, and intermixed with a great many Swamps or Morasses, on which there grew Under-wood and Bushes; but farther up in the Country the Land rises into Hills, and

and on the North East is rocky and mountainous.

THE *Atlantick* Ocean washes the Shores on the East and South, and there are several good Bays and Harbours on the Coast, particularly those formed by *Plimouth*, *Rhode Island*, and *Providence Plantation* on the South; *Monument Bay* to the Eastward of these in *Barnstable-County*: *West Harbour*, formed by the bending of the Coast at Cape *Cod*; the Harbour of *Boston*, which will be particularly described in treating of that Capital; *Casco Bay* farther Northward, with several others of less Note, which will be found in the Map of the *British* Plantations; several of these are capable of receiving the largest Fleets.

THE most remarkable Capes going from South to North are, 1. that of Cape *Cod*; 2. *Marble Head*; 3. Cape *Anne*; 4. Cape *Netick*; 5. Cape *Porpus*; 6. Cape *Elizabeth*; and 7. Cape *Small-point*.

THE Country is generally well water'd with Springs and Rivulets, and there are some Lakes, but not of that Magnitude as those which lie North and West of this Country. The principal Rivers are, 1. that of *Connecticut*, which rising North of *New-England* runs almost directly South, and having divided the Province of *Connecticut* in two Parts, falls into the Sea between the

## 196 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

Towns of *Saybroke* and *Lyme*, almost over-against the East-end of *Lond Island*; this River is navigable with large Vessels a great way. 2. The *Thames*, which rising in some Lake North of the *Massachusetts*, runs also directly South, falling into the Sea below *New London*, and to the Eastward of the *River Connecticut*. 3. The *River Patuxet*, which rising in the North West of the *Massachusetts* Country, runs to the South East thro' *Providence Plantation*, falling into a Bay of the Sea near the Town of *Swansey*. 4. The great *River Merimack*, which rising North of *New England* also runs to the Southward, forming a Lake on the West of *New Hampshire*, from whence continuing its Course South to 43 Degrees of Latitude, then turns about to the East, falling into the Sea between *Salisbury* and *Newbury* in the County of *Essex*. 5. The *River Piscataway*, which runs from West to East, and falls into the Sea near the Town of *Portsmouth* in *Hampshire*; the Mouth of which is more like an Arm of the Sea than a River, and is capable of receiving the largest Ships. 6. The *River Saco*, which rising North of *New England* takes its Course to the South, falling into the Sea between Cape *Porpus* and Cape *Elizabeth* in the Province of *Maine*. 7. The *River Casco*, which runs parallel to the *River Saco*, and falls into *Casco*

*Casco* Bay. To the Eastward of these are the Rivers *Segbedock*, *Kenebeck*, *Penobscot*, and many more considerable Streams, which rising far to the North run almost due South, falling into the Ocean to the Eastward of *Casco* Bay; but this Part of the Country being but slenderly inhabited and little resorted to, I meet with no further Description of them. The Tides on these Shores ebb and flow regularly, rising usually nine or ten Foot in the Bays and Mouths of the Rivers. Their Winds are variable as with us, and very boisterous in the Winter Season: The North and North West Winds are exceeding cold, blowing over a long Tract of frozen Countries. Their Winters are much severer, and some Months longer than ours, tho' they lie nine or ten Degrees nearer the Sun than we do; however, their Heaven is usually brighter, and the Weather more settled than in *England*, both in Winter and Summer; and the Summer, tho' shorter than in *England*, is a great deal hotter whilst it lasts; however, the Climate is esteemed as healthful and agreeable to *English* Constitutions as any of our Plantations on the Continent.

WHEN the *English* arrived here, they found this Country inhabited by upwards of twenty different Nations or Tribes, commanded by their respective Chiefs, the Territories



## 198 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

ritories of several of them not exceeding five and twenty or thirty Miles in Circumference. Of these the most powerful were.

1. The *Massachusetts*, whose Country comprehended the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, and still a Part of the *Massachusetts Colony*.

2. The *Neumkeaks*, who inhabited that Part of the *Massachusetts* Country, which now goes by the Name of *The County of Essex*.

3. The *Narragansets*, whose Habitations were in the County of *New London*, East of the River *Connecticut*.

4. The *Pocassets*; this People dwelt to the Southward of the *Massachusetts*, in the Country now called *New Plimouth*.

6. The *Pequots*, who inhabited another Part of *Connecticut*.

6. The *Wompanoags*, who inhabited the Country now called *New Bristol*.

7. The *Moratigons*, seated to the Westward of the *Wompanoags*.

8. The *Patuxets*, seated upon the River which still bears that Name.

9. The *Maquas*, who lived to the Westward of *Connecticut* River.

10. The *Manimoyes*, who inhabited *Barnstable* County.

11. The *Nicanticks*, *Mattabiecks*, and *Nemaskets*, situated South West of *Merrimack* River: And,

12. The

12. The *Marchicans* and *Sequems*, who were seated in *New Hampshire*.

THE first four Colonies established by the *English* in this County were, 1. the *Massachusetts*; 2. *New Plymouth*; 3. *Connecticut*; and, 4. *New Haven*; Afterwards three more were added, *viz.* 5. The Province of *Maine*; 6. *New Hampshire*; and, 7. *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantation*.

THESE seven Colonies have since been reduced to four, 1. The Province of the *Massachusetts*, *New Plymouth*, and *Maine*, are now included in one Charter and subject to the same Government. 2. *New Hampshire* is at this Day a separate Government. 3. *Connecticut* and *New Haven* are now included in one Charter; and, 4. *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantation* have a distinct Charter, and are a Colony independent [of any of the former; the Occasion of which Alterations will appear in the Chapter assigned to treat of the History of this Country.

I PROCEED in the next Place to describe the Situation and Boundaries of the present larger Sub-divisions, and to enumerate the Counties and chief Towns comprehended in each of these Divisions.

THE *Massachusetts* Colony, which at this Day includes the following grand Sub-divisions; *viz.* 1. That of *Massachusetts Proper*; 2. *New*

200 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

2. *New Plimouth*; and, 3. That of *Maine*.

1<sup>st</sup>. *Massachusetts Proper*, is bounded by *New Hampshire* towards the North, by the *Massachusetts Bay* on the East, by *Plimouth* and *Connecticut* on the South, and by the Province of *New York* on the West, containing the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Middlesex*, and *Essex*, all of them situated on the *Massachusetts Bay*, of which *Suffolk* is the most Southerly, comprehending the Towns of, 1. *Boston* the Capital of the Province. 2. *Braintree*. 3. *Dedham*. 4. *Dorchester*. 5. *Hingham*. 6. *Hull*. 7. *Medfield*. 8. *Mendon*. 9. *Milton*. 10. *Roxborough*. 11. *Weymouth*. 12. *Woodstock*. 13. *Wrentham*. 14. *Brooklin*; and, 15. *Needham*.

*Boston*, the Capital of *New England*, according to *Mr. Neale*, is situated in 42 Degrees 24 Minutes North Latitude, and 71 Degrees of Western Longitude, making *London* the first Meridian. It stands in a Peninsula about four Miles in Circumference, at the Bottom of a fine Bay of the Sea, at the Entrance whereof are several Rocks which appear above Water, and above a dozen small Islands, some of which are inhabited. There is but one safe Channel to approach the Harbour, and that so narrow that three Ships can scarce sail through a-breast; but within the Harbour there is Room enough for

for five hundred Sail to lie at Anchor. The Entrance is defended by the Castle of Fort *William*, on which are one hundred Guns mounted, twenty of which lie on a Platform level with the Water; so that it is scarce possible for an Enemy to pass the Castle: And to prevent Surprise, they have a Guard placed on one of the Rocks, about two Leagues distant, on which also there stands a Light-house, from whence they make Signals to the Castle when any Ships come in sight. There is also a Battery of great Guns at each End of the Town which commands the Harbour, to the Fire whereof an Enemy would be expos'd if he should be so fortunate as to pass the Castle.

At the Bottom of the Bay there is a Pier near two thousand Feet in Length, with Warehouses for the Merchants on the North Side of it; and Ships of the greatest Burden may come up close to the Pier and unload without the Help of Boats.

THE same Writer adds, that the Town of *Boston* lies in the Form of a Crescent about the Harbour, the Country beyond rising gradually, and affording a most delightful Prospect from the Sea: That there are several Streets not much inferior to the best in *London*, the chief of which runs from the Pier up to their Town-house or Guild-hall, a handsome Building, where are Walks for the



the Merchants, as on the *Exchange*; and here also are the Council-Chamber, the House of Representatives, and their Courts of Justice; the Exchange being surrounded with Booksellers Shops, who have Trade enough to employ five Printing-Presses here. There are ten Churches of all Denominations, of which six are Independants, the most prevailing Party in *New-England*: And the Number of Souls in the Towns may be about fourteen or fifteen thousand. The Episcopal Church is handsomely built and adorn'd, and the Congregation said to be about a thousand in Number: Their Church-plate and some Pieces of Painting were given them by King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and their Organ by *Thomas Brattle*, Esq. There is also in this Church a magnificent Seat for the Governor, who comes hither, I presume, when he happens to be of the Church of *England*.

Mr. *Neal* observes further, that *Boston* is the most flourishing Town of Trade in *Engliss-America*; and that three or four hundred Sail of Ships, Brigantines, and other Vessels, are annually loaden here with Lumber, Beef, Pork, Fish, and other Provisions for *Europe* or the *American* Islands: That their Merchants and Tradesmen are a polite People, many of them having travelled in to *Europe*, or conversed with Foreigners of several

several Nations at home: That their Houses are as elegantly furnish'd, and their Tables as well serv'd as those of the Merchants and Tradesmen in *London*, all manner of Provisions being as plentiful as in any Town in *Old-England*.

Mr. *Dummer's* Description of *Boston* agrees with Mr. *Neal's* as to the Fortifications, but is something more particular; for he says there is a Battery of great Guns at each End of the Town, and about a League from it there is a beautiful strong Castle, by far the finest Piece of military Architecture in *British-America*: That it is a Quarry surrounded by a cover'd Way, and join'd with two Lines of Communication to the main Battery, as also a Line of Communication from the main Gate to a Redoubt, to prevent an Enemy's Landing; and the Battery is situated so near the Channel as to hinder Ships coming up to the Town, which must all sail within Pistol-shot of it: That in time of Peace there is but one Company on Duty in the Castle, but in time of War there are five hundred able-body'd Men, exempted from all other military Duty, to attend the Service of the Castle at an Hour's Warning, when the Signal is given from the Light-house of the Approach of an Enemy: That the Castle thereupon makes a Signal to the Town, and if five Ships or more ap-

## 204 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

pear in time of War, the neighbouring Country is alarm'd by firing a Beacon.

The County of *Middlesex* lies contiguous to that of *Suffolk* on the North, and contains the following Towns. 1. *Cambridge*. 2. *Billerica*. 3. *Charles-Town*. 4. *Chelmsford*. 5. *Concord*. 6. *Lexington*. 7. *Groton*. 8. *Launcester*. 9. *Marlborough*. 10. *Malden*. 11. *Framingham*. 12. *Medford*. 13. *Newton*. 14. *Oxford*. 15. *Reading*. 16. *Sherburn*. 17. *Stow*. 18. *Sudbury*. 19. *East-Waterton*. 20. *Weston*. 21. *Woburn*; and, 22. *Worcester*.

THE chief Town whereof is *Cambridge*, commonly called *Newton*, situated on the Northern Branch of *Charles River*, about seven Miles from *Boston*, in which are several well built Streets; but it is most considerable for its University, consisting of three Colleges, *viz. Harvard-College, Stoughton-Hall*, and ----- *Hall*. There was also a College built for the Education of *Indians*, but this is now converted into a Printing-House, the Education of the *Indians* in the learned Languages being found impracticable; there never were above four or five educated there, and but one that ever took a Degree. They have also a Library here, but very defective in modern Books; which my Author is of Opinion is the Reason that the Style of the *New-England Divines* is no better;

better: They also still want Endowments for the reading of publick Lectures in the College by Professors of the several Sciences. The University is govern'd by a President, five Fellows, and the Treasurer, who have each of them a competent Revenue settled on them; and there may be an hundred and fifty Students resident in all the Colleges: Their Visitors or Overseers are the Governor, and Deputy-Governor, with the Magistrates of the Province, and the Ministers (for the time being) of six adjacent Towns.

*Essex* is the most Northerly County of *Massachusetts Proper*, and contains the Towns of, 1. *Salem*. 2. *Amesbury*. 3. *Salisbury*. 4. *Haverhill*. 5. *Newberry*. 6. *Boxford*. 7. *Rowley*. 8. *Ipswich*. 9. *Topsfield*. 10. *Bradford*. 11. *Gloucester*. 12. *Manchester*. 13. *Beverley*. 14. *Marble-head*. 15. *Lynn*. 16. *Wenham*; and, 17. *Andover*, of which *Salem* is the chief, or County-Town, being situate in a Plain between two Rivers Mouths, and has two Harbours, the one call'd *The Summer* and the other *Winter Harbour*. They boast mightily of their Church, which they assure us is one of the finest in *New England*: They value themselves also on their Antiquity; for here it was, they relate, that the *Massachusetts* Adventurers fixed their first Colony. A little to the Northward of *Salem* lies the Promontory call'd



206 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

call'd Cape *Anne*, esteem'd a good Station for Fishing; and a little farther Northward lies *Newbury*, pleasantly situated at the Mouth of *Merinnack* River, where they take abundance of Sturgeon and pickle them after the same Manner as they do in the *Baltick*. On the opposite Side of *Merimack* River lies the Town of *Salisbury*; and between these Towns there is a constant Ferry half a Mile over.

The second grand Division of the *Massachusetts* Government is the Province of *Maine*, which is bounded on the North East by *Nova Scotia*; by the Bay of *Massachusetts* on the South East, and by the Province of *New Hampshire* on the South West and North West, in which are the two Counties of *Tork* and *Cornwal*, tho', according to some, the whole Province of *Maine* is but one County: The chief Towns are, 1. *Falmouth*. 2. *Saco*, or *Scarborough*. 3. *Wells*. 4. *Hedek*, or *Newcastle*. 5. *Edgar* Town. 6. *Tork*. 7. *Ketterg*. 8. *Berwick*. and, 9. *Biddeford*. Several Fortifications were erected on the North East Part of this Province in the late Wars, to defend the Country against the *French* and *Indians* of *Nova Scotia*; particularly at *Saco*, *Kennebeck*, *Sagadahock* and *Pemiquid*, the last of which was taken by the *French* and demolish'd: And since *Nova Scotia* has been yielded to *Great Britain*

Britain by France, it is to be presumed the rest are of no great Use, our Frontiers on that Side being extended much further by that Cession.

The third and last grand Division of the *Massachusetts* Government is that of *Plimouth*, which lies South of *Massachusetts Proper*, and contains the three Counties of *Plimouth*, *Barnstable*, and *Bristol*.

Of these three Counties, that of *Plimouth* lies most Northerly; in which are the Towns of, 1. *New Plimouth*. 2. *Bridge-water*. 3. *Duxbury*. 4. *Marblefield*. 5. *Scituate*. 6. *Middleburgh*. 7. *Pembroke*, and 8. *Plympton*. And of these *New Plimouth*, the Chief, is situated on the South Side of a large Bay, and is the oldest Town in *New England*.

The County of *Barnstable* lies contiguous to *Plimouth* on the South East, in which is the celebrated Promontory of *Cape Cod*, forming a large commodious Bay, capable of containing a thousand Sail of Ships.

In this County the chief Towns are, 1. *Barnstable*, situate at the Bottom of the first Bay. 2. *Eastham*. 3. *Marimoy*. 4. *Truro*. 5. *Rochester*. 6. *Sandwich*. 7. *Tar-mouth*. 8. *Harwich*; and 9, *Nantucket*, situate in an Island of the same Name, that lies South East of the Main-land, near which is one of the most considerable Fisheries in *New*

208 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*New England*, and the Town flourishing in Proportion, there being three or four-score Sail of Ships and Vessels belonging to that Port, as I am informed.

The County of *Bristol* lies South West of *Plimouth*, and contains the Towns of 1. *Bristol*. 2. *Swimsley*. 3. *Roboboth*. 4. *Norton*. 5. *Dartmouth*. 6. *Taunton*. 7. *Dighton*. 8. *Little Compton*, 9. *Artleborough*, 10. *Free-town*; of which *Bristol* the chief is situated on a commodious Harbour, at the Entrance whereof lies *Rhode-Island*.

The Province of *New Hampshire*, now a distinct Government, is bounded by *Nova Scotia* on the North East; by the Province of *Maine* on the South East; by the *Massachusetts* Colony on the South West; the chief Towns whereof are *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, *Exeter*, and *Hampton*, all which lie near the Mouth of the River *Piscataway*; and indeed I meet with scarce any Towns in the Inland Country, which still remains a great Forest, cover'd with excellent Timber, large Portions whereof are set apart and appropriated by Act of Parliament to the furnishing Masts, &c. for the Royal Navy of *England*, but the Soil does not seem proper either for Corn or Grass.

The Province bordering upon *Canada*, or *New France*, suffered much by the Ravages of the *French* and *Indians* in the two last

last Wars, which occasioned the building several Forts and Redoubts on the Frontiers for their Security.

The third Colony or Government, esteem'd also a Part of *New England*, is that of *Connecticut*, which comprehends *New Haven*, and is bounded by the *Massachusetts* Colony on the North; by another Part of the *Massachusetts* and *Rhode Island* on the East; by an Arm of the Sea, which divides *Connecticut* from *Long Island* on the South; and by *New York* on the West, being about one hundred Miles in Length, and eighty in Breadth, and contains the following Counties, viz. 1. *New London*. 2. *Hertford* 3. *New Haven* County; and 4. *Fairfield* County.

*New London* County is situated on both Sides of the River *Connecticut*, and contains the following Towns, viz. 1. *New London*, situate on the West Bank of the *Thames* not far from its Mouth. 2. *Saybrook*, the oldest Town in the County, situate at the Mouth of the River *Connecticut* on the West Side, as, 3. *Lyme* is on the East Side. 4. *Stoniton*. 5. *Preston*. 6. *Dantick*. 7. *Norwich*. 8. *Lebanon*: and, 9. *Killingworth*.

*Hertford* County, contiguous to that of *London* County on the North, lies also on both Sides the River *Connecticut*, containing the following Towns, viz. 1. *Hertford*.

No. 14.

D

2. *Farm*



210 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

2. *Farmington*. 3. *Glassonbury*. 4. *Hadham*. 5. *Middletown*. 6. *Simsburg*. 7. *Walterbury*. 8. *Weatherfield*. 9. *Windsor*. 10. *Farm*; and, 11. *Windham*; of which *Hertford* is the Chief or County Town, and Capital of the whole Province, having a little Univerſity or College in it, as I am informed, where young Gentlemen receive Academical Education.

*New Haven* County is bounded by that of *Hertford* on the North; by *London* County on the Eaſt; the Sea on the South, and *Fairfield* County on the Weſt; in which are the Towns of, 1. *New Haven*, the chief, ſaid to be a very flouriſhing Place, and to have a College in it, called *Tale College*, where young Gentlemen have Univerſity Education; to which is added a Library well furniſhed with Books, procured chiefly by the Application and Intereſt of *Jeremy Dunmer*, Eſq; once Agent for this Colony. 2. *Brainford*. 3. *Derby*. 4. *Guildford*. 5. *Milford*; and, 6. *Wallingford*.

*Fairford* County alſo lies upon the Sea, between the County of *New Haven* on the Eaſt, and the Province of *New York* on the Weſt; in which are the chief Towns of 1. *Fairfield*. 2. *Danbury*. 3. *Greenwich*. 4. *Norwalk*. 5. *Rye*. 6. *Stamford*. 7. *Stratford*; and, 8. *Woodbury*.

4. The

4. The last Colony comprehended in *New England* is that of *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantation* established by another Charter. *Rhode Island*, call'd by the Natives *Aquenot*, lies in the *Narraganset Bay*, between *Plymouth Colony* and *Providence Plantation*, being about fifteen Miles in its Length and six in Breadth; to which belong several smaller Islands: And *Providence Plantation*, which is included in the same Charter, being a District above twenty Miles square, on the neighbouring Continent, and separated from *Connecticut* on the West by an imaginary Line drawn from North to South, and from the *Massachusetts* by another Line drawn from East to the West.

The chief Towns are, 1. *Newport*, situated on the South West Part of *Rhode Island*, in 41 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, having a very secure and commodious Harbour defended by a regular Fort at the Entrance, on which are planted three Pieces of large Cannon. It appears to have a brisk Trade, for there are no less than sixty Ships and Vessels belonging to this Town.

There are two other large Port Towns situated on the Continent, near the Mouth of the River *Patuxent* in *Providence Plantation*, one of them call'd *Providence*, and

the other *Warwick*; but of these I meet with no particular Description.

Several other Islands lie near the South East Coast of *New England*, of which *Block Island* belongs to *Connecticut* Colony; and *Elizabeth Island*, *Martha's Vineyard*, and *Nantucket* already mention'd belong to the *Massachusetts* Government, and are very considerable on Account of the Fishery carried on in those Seas.

As to the Buildings of the *Indians* in *New England*, they are not different from those of *Virginia* and *Maryland* already described; and the *Englisb* follow the Models of their Mother Country, as near as they can, except in their Churches, which come nearer the Form of the *London* Meeting-Houses than those of our Churches. The few Churches indeed that have been erected by the Members of the Church of *England* resemble those in *Old England*, and are generally built of Wood, but some few of Brick. The only publick Buildings they have besides, are the Town-house and *Guild-hall* in every Province and County-Town, where the respective General Assemblies and Courts of Justice are held; and some Colleges and Schools that have been erected in their great Towns for the Education of Youth, which, I presume, have nothing more extraordinary in the Fabrick, by the Silence

Silence of their Histories in the Description of them.

The *New England Indians* are of a good Stature, and might have good Complexions, if they did not affect an Olive Colour, and take a great deal of Pains with certain Oils and Juices to make their Skins darker than they naturally are. Their Features are well enough, except their Noses, which their Parents press flat in their Infancy, if they are not born so: Their Hair is black, and usually cut short before, but suffered to grow long behind, sometimes braided, and dress'd up fantastically with Feathers. The Hair of their Beards and Bodies they pull up by the Roots as soon as they appear; and some of them, 'tis said, never have any Beards; They frequently paint their Faces and Shoulders with a deep Red, and on other Parts of their Bodies make a Variety of frightful Figures, endeavouring to render themselves as terrible as possible.

They generally go naked in the Summer, covering their Loins only with a Piece of Silk; but in the Winter, and Days of Ceremony, they have a Mantle or short Cloak, made of the Skin of a Doe, or of some other Animal; and of the like Materials they make Breeches, Stockings, and Shoes, all of a Piece frequently. In hard Weather they also put on their Snow-Shoes, which are



214 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

are very long and broad, and tied on their Feet with Thongs of green Leather.

The Women paint as well as the Men, and their Mantles are much of the same Form: Their Ornaments are Ear-rings of Copper, Necklaces and Bracelets, made of Beads and Shells, or other glittering Toys.

The Natives are generally reckon'd to have quick Parts, tho' they had made but little Improvements in Arts and Sciences when the *English* came amongst them. Their Buildings and Cloathing were very mean, nor was there any thing that could be called a Manufacture in the Country, much less were they skill'd in the liberal Arts, having no Notion of Letters, and seem but little disposed to Literature at this Day; for the *English* here, and in the rest of our Colonies, tell us, they despair of making Scholars of them, though no Means have been left unattempted to give them a liberal Education.

Courage, or a Contempt of Death, is what they most admire in others, and affect to be thought possessed of themselves. And there appears to have been some brave Men amongst them, but they are generally timorous, revengeful, and thievish. They seldom have the Courage to face an Enemy in the open Field, most of the Actions they boast of being done in the dark, or by Surprise;

Surprize; and a Wood-Fight, where they can skulk behind the Trees and Bushes, is their Master-piece. As they are very nimble and excellent Marksmen, they have sometimes been too hard for the *Europeans* in such Encounters.

In War, in Hunting, Fishing, and other rural Spotts, they are acknowledged to be indefatigable. They will make prodigious long and swift Marches, lie in the Woods Night after Night, endure Cold and Heat, Hunger and Thirst to Admiration; and yet, when they are not engaged in such Expeditions, they are observed to be the most idle, slothful Wretches upon the Face of the Earth, putting their Women upon all manner of Drudgery both without Doors and within; for the Women plant their Corn, Roots, and Fruits, and afterwards reap and gather them. They also prepare and dress their Food, lug about their Children, and do all manner of Household Business, and even carry the Provisions and Baggage upon every March or Removal, the Men carrying nothing but their Arms; and 'tis observed they seldom go out a Hunting or Fishing, till Necessity forces them, and then they usually set out fifty or a hundred in a Company, dividing the Country amongst them, so as the Game may not escape, which soever Way it takes, and continue **their**

216 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
their Sport several Weeks: Sometimes they  
beat the Woods and Thickets, at others  
they take their Canoes or Boats, and go  
down their Rivers. and are so dextrous at  
shooting and striking their Game in the Wa-  
ter, as well as Land, that they seldom fail  
of doing Execution.

Their Food, and the manner of dressing  
it, differs so little from that of the *Indians*,  
already described, that it is unnecessary to  
enlarge on those Articles any more than on  
their domestick Diversions and Exercises,  
which consist chiefly in Singing, Dancing,  
and Hollowing, in distorting their Limbs,  
and the most extravagant Gestures they can  
invent.

The *Europeans* have taught them ano-  
ther very mischievous Recreation, *viz.* The  
Drinking strong Liquors, of which they are  
so fond, that they would sell their Lands,  
and every Thing they had, to procure them  
some, till the Government, in Compassion  
to the Natives, prohibited their Drinking  
strong Liquors, and forbid the *English* to  
purchase their Lands without Leave of  
their Superiors; however, these Regulations  
are little observed, and those *Indians*, that  
live among the *English*, are still a wretched,  
fortish, and beggarly People, that will apply  
themselves to no manner of Business, dread-  
ing Labour more than Poverty itself.

Their

Their Quadrupedes are almost the same here as in *Virginia*, viz. Deer, Racoons, Elks, Bears, Wolves, Foxes, Hares, Rabbits, Squirrels, Martins, Opossums, and little Curr-Dogs: They have now also all manner of *European* Cattle, viz. Horses, Oxen, Sheep, and Hogs, none of which they ever saw, till the *English* carried them over; and though the Horses are not so large as those we have here, yet they are very serviceable both for the Saddle and Draught, and do make the best Troopers Horses in *America*. But the most celebrated Animal, which is almost peculiar to *New England*, is the Moose Deer; of which, Mr. Dudley, one of the Council in *New England*, and a Member of the *Royal Society*, has given us an Account in the following Manner.

The *Moose*, says he, is thought peculiar to *North America*, and is one of the noblest Creatures of the Forest: The *Aborigines* have given him the Name of *Moose*, *Moose* in the Plural.

There are two Sorts: The common light and grey Moose, by the *Indians* call'd *Wampoose*; these are more like the ordinary Deer, spring like them, and herd sometimes to thirty in a Company: And then there are the large and black Moose, of which I shall now give you the following Relation:

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He is the Head of the Deer-Kind, has many Things in common with other Deer, in many Things differs; but in very all superior. The Moose is made much like a Deer, parts the Hoof, chews the Cud, has no Gall, his Ears large and erect. The Hair of the black Moose is a dark grey; upon the Ridge of his Back the Hair is ten or twelve Inches long, of which the *Indians* make good Belts. He has a very short Bob Tail.

Mr. *Neal*, in his late History of this Country, speaking of the Moose, says, They have a long Tail; but that Gentleman was imposed upon as to other Things besides the Moose.

Our Hunters have found a Buck or Stag-Moose of fourteen Spans in the Height from the Withers, reckoning nine Inches to a Span; a Quarter of his Venison weighed more than two hundred Pounds; and a few Years since a Gentleman surprizing one of these black Moose in his Grounds, within two Miles of *Boston*; it proved a Doe or Hind of the fourth Year. After she was dead, they measured her upon the Ground from the Nose to the Tail between ten and eleven Feet. She wanted an Inch of seven Feet in Height.

The Horns of the Moose, when they are full grown, are about four or five Feet from the Head to the Tip, and have Shoots and Branches

Branches to each Horn, and generally spread about six Feet. When the Horns come out of the Head, they are round, like the Horns of an Ox. About a Foot from the Head they begin to grow a Palm broad, and further up still wider, of which the *Indians* make good Ladles that will hold a Pint. When a Moose goes through a Thicket, or under the Boughs of Trees, he lays his Horns back on his Neck, not only that he may make his Way the easier, but to cover his Body from the Bruise or Scratch of the Wood. These mighty Horns are shed every Year. The Doe-Moose has none of these Horns.

A Moose does not spring or rise in going, as an ordinary Deer, but shoves along sideways, throwing out the Feet much like a Horse in a racking Pace. One of these large black Moose, in his common Walk, has been seen to step over a Gate or Fence five Feet high. After you unharbour a Moose, he will run a Course of twenty or thirty Miles before he turns about or comes to a Bay. When they are chased, they generally take to the Water; the common Deer for a short a Space are swifter than a Moose, but then a Moose soon out-winds a Deer.

The Meat of a Moose is excellent Food; and tho' it be not so delicate as the common Venison, yet it is more substantial,

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and

and will bear falting. The Noſe is looked upon as a great Danty. I have eat ſeveral of them myſelf; they are perfect Marrow. The *Indians* have told me, that they can travel as far after a Meal of Mooſe, as after any other Fleſh in the Foreſt.

The black Mooſe is not very gregarious, being rarely found above four or five together; the young Ones keep with the Lam a full Year.

A Mooſe calves every Year, and generally brings two. The Mooſe bring forth their young Ones ſtanding, and the Young fall from the Dam upon their Feet. The Time of their bringing forth is generally in the Month of *April*,

The Mooſe being very tall, and having ſhort Necks, do not graze on the Ground as the common Deer, Neat Cattle, &c. do; and if any Time they eat Graſs, it is the Top of that which grows very high, or on ſteep riſing Ground. In the Summer they feed upon Plants, Herbs, and young Shrubs, that grow upon the Land; but moſtly, and with great Delight, on Water-Plants, eſpecially a Sort of wild Colts-Foot and Lilly that abound in our Ponds, and by the Sides of the Rivers, and for which the Mooſe will wade far and deep, and by the Noiſe they make in the Water our Hunters often diſcover them. In the Winter they live upon  
Browze,

Browze, or the Tops of Bushes and young Trees; and being very tall and strong, they will bend down a Tree as big as a Man's Leg; and where the Browze fails them they will eat off the Bark of some Sort of Trees as they can reach. They generally feed in the Night, and lie still in the Day.

The Skin of the Moose, if well dress'd, makes excellent Buff; the *Indians* make their Snow-Shoes of them. Their Way of Dressing it, which is reckon'd very good, is thus: After they have hair'd and grain'd the Hide, they make a Lather of the Moose's Brains in warm Water, and after they have soak'd the Hide for some Time, they stretch and supple it.

Their Fowls, Birds, Snakes, and Insects are much the same here as in *Virginia*, whither therefore I refer the Reader: And they have the same Fish in their Seas and Rivers; only I must observe, that the Cod-Fishery and Whale Fishery of *New England* are superior to any Fisheries on the Coast of *North America*, and yield a vast Profit to this Country. I am inform'd also that, the Year before last, the *New-England Men* sent twenty Sail of Ships for Whales in *Greenland* and *Davis's Streights*, where they met with great Success, but were not so fortunate the last Year. And here it may be acceptable to the Reader to introduce Mr.

*Dudley's*



222 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*Dudley's* Description of their Whale-Fishery on the Coast of *New England*.

This Gentleman observes, that the most learned Part of Mankind were at a Loss about many Things even in Medical Use, and particularly in what is called *Ambergris*, until the Whale Fishermen of *Nantucket* in *New England*, some few Years ago, made the Discovery.

Cutting up a *Sperma Ceti* Bull Whale, they found accidentally in him about twenty Pound Weight, more or less, of that Drug. After which they and some other Fishermen became very curious in searching all such Whales as they kill'd; and it has since been found in lesser Quantities in several Male Whales of that Kind, and in no other, and scarcely in one of an hundred of them. They add further, that it is contain'd in a Cyst or Bag, without any Inlet or Outlet to it, and that they have sometimes found the Bag empty and yet entire.

The Bag is no where to be found, but near the genital Parts of the Fish. The *Ambergris*, is, when first taken out, moist, and of an exceeding strong and offensive Smell.

The following Account respects only such Whales as are found on the Coast of *New England*, and of these there are divers Sorts.

The

The right or Whalebone Whale is a large Fish measuring sixty or seventy Feet in its Length, and very bulky, having no Scales, but a soft fine smooth Skin; no Fins but only one on each Side, from five to eight Feet long, which they are not observ'd to use but only in turning themselves, unless while young and carried by the Dam on the Flukes of their Tails, when with those Fins they clasp about her Small, and so hold themselves on. This Fish, when first brought forth, is about twenty Feet long, and of little Worth, but then the Dam is very fat. At a Year old, when they are called Short-heads, they are very fat, and yield to fifty Barrels of Oil; but by that Time the Dam is very poor and termed a dry Skin, and will not yield more than thirty Barrels of Oil, tho' of large Bulk. At two Years old they are call'd Stunts, being stunted after weaning, and will then yield generally from twenty-four to twenty-eight Barrels. After this they are term'd Skull-Fish, their Age not being known, but only guessed at by the Length of the Bones in their Mouths. The Whalebone, so called, grows in the upper Jaw on each Side, and is sometimes six or seven Feet in Length. A good large Whale has yielded a thousand Weight in Bone. 'Tis thought by some, that the hairy Part of the Whalebone, and which is next to

to the Tongue, serves in the Nature of a Strainer for their Food.

The Eye of a Whale is about the Bigness of an Ox's Eye, and situated in the After-part of the Head on each Side, and where the Whale is broadest; for his Head tapers away backward: His Eyes are more than half way his Depth, or near Under-part. Just under his Eyes are his two Fins above-mention'd; he carries his Tail horizontally, and with that he sculls himself along.

The Intrails of this Whale are made and situated much like those of an Ox, and their Scalps are sometimes found cover'd with thousands of Sea Lice. One of these Whales has yielded one hundred and thirty Barrels of Oil, and near twenty out of the Tongue. The Whalebone Whale is the most valuable, except the *Spermi Ceti* Whale.

The Scrag-Whale is near a-kin to the Fin-back; but instead of a Fin upon his Back, the Ridge of his After-part of his Back is scragged, with half a dozen Knobs. He is nearest the right Whale in Figure and for Quantity of Oil: His Bone is white, but will not split.

The Fin-back Whale is distinguish'd from the right Whale by having a great Fin on his Back from two Feet and a half to four Feet long, which gives him the Name. He has also two Side-Fins, as the Whalebone Whale

Whale, but much longer, measuring six or seven Feet. This Fish is somewhat longer than the other, but not so bulky, much swifter, and furious when struck, and very difficultly held; their Oil is not near so much as that of the right Whale, and the Bone of Little Profit, being short and knobby. The Belly of this Whale is white.

The Bunch, or Hump-back Whale, is distinguish'd from the right Whale by having a Bunch standing in the Place where the Fin does in the Fin-back. This Bunch is as big as a Man's Head, and a Foot high, shaped like a Plug pointing backwards. The Bone of this Whale is not worth much, tho' sometimes better than a Fin-back's. His Fins are sometimes eighteen Feet long and very white; his Oil as much as that of the Fin-back. Both the Fin-backs and Hump-backs are shaped in Reeves longitudinal, from Head to Tail on their Bellies and Sides, as far as their Fins, which are about half-way up their Sides.

The *Sperma Ceti* Whale is much of the same Dimension with the other, but is of a greyish Colour, whereas the others are black. He has a Bunch on his Back like the Hump-back, but then he is distinguish'd by not having any Whalebone in the Mouth, instead of which there are Rows of fine Ivory Teeth in each Jaw, five or six Inches



226 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

long. One of these Teeth I have sent to the *Society*; the Man who gave it me says the Whale was forty-nine Feet long, and his Head made twelve Barrels of *Sperma Ceti* Oil. They are more gentle Fish than the other Whales, and seldom fight with their Tails, but when struck usually turn on their Backs and fight with their Mouths. The Oil which is made of the Body of this Fish is much clearer and sweeter than that of the other Whales.

The *Sperma Ceti* Oil so called lies in a great Trunk, about four or five Feet deep, and ten or twelve Feet long, near the whole Depth, Breadth, and Length of the Head, in the Place of the Brains, and seems to be the same, and disposed into several membranous Cells, and cover'd not with a Bone, but a thick grissly Substance below the Skin, through which they dig a Hole, and lade out the clear Oil; not but that the Head and other glandulous Parts of this Fish will make the *Sperma Ceti* Oil; but the best, and that which is prepar'd by Nature, is in the Trunk aforesaid: And an ingenious Man, who has himself killed many of these Whales, assures me, that only the Trunk will afford from ten to twenty Barrels. Besides the *Sperma Ceti* Oil, this Fish will yeild from twenty to fifty Barrels of common Oil.

They

They generate much like our Neat Cattle, and therefore they are termed Bull, Cow, and Calf: They bring forth but one at a Time, and that but every other Year. When the Cow takes Bull, she throws herself upon her Back, sinking her Tail, and so the Bull slides up, and when he is slid up she clasps him with her Fins. The Pizel of a Whale is six Feet long, and at the Root is seven or eight Inches diameter, and tapers away till it comes to about an Inch diameter; his Stones will fill half a Barrel, but his Genitals are not open or visible, like those of the true Bull. The Calf, or young Whale, has been found perfectly formed in the Cow when not above seventeen Inches, and white, and yet when 'tis brought forth is usually twenty Feet, but of a black Colour; it is supposed they go with their Young about nine or ten Months, and are very fat in that Time, especially when they bring forth. When the Female suckles her Young she turns herself almost upon her Back upon the Rim of the Water. She has two Teats of six or eight Inches long, and ten or twelve Inches round. The Milk is white, like that of a Cow; and upon opening a young sucking Whale, the Milk was found curdled in his Bag, just like that of a Calf.

Their-Care of their Young is very remarkable, they not only carrying them on their Tails and suckling them, but often rising with them for the Benefit of the Air; and however they are chasd and wounded, yet as long as they have Sense, and perceive Life in their Young, they will never leave them, nor will they then strike with their Tail; and if, in their Running, the young One loses his Hold and drops off, the Dam turns about, and passing underneath takes it on again; and therefore care is taken by those who kill these Fish, only to fasten the Calf, but not to kill her, till they have first secured the Cow; for as soon as ever the Calf is dead, the Cow perceives it, and grows so violent that there is no managing her.

The Whales are very gregarious, being sometimes found an Hundred in a Scull, and are great Travellers: In the Fall of the Year the Whalebone Whales go Westward, and in the Spring they are headed Eastward. But here it must be noted, that the several Kinds of Whales do not mix with one another, but keep by themselves.

Their way of Breathing is by two Spout-holes in the Top of the Head: The *Sperma Ceti* Whale has but one, and that on the left Side of the Head. Once in a quarter of Hour, when not disturbed, they are observed

ved to rise and blow, spouting out Water and Wind, and to draw in fresh Air; but when pursu'd they will sometimes keep under half an Hour or more; tho' tis observ'd, when any Cow has her Calf on her Tail, she rises much oftner for the young One to breathe, without breathing herself. Out of their Breathing-holes they spout great Quantities of Blood when they have received their Death's Wound.

For the first Year they all suck the Dam: After they are weaned, the right Whales (as is generally suppos'd) live upon ouzy Matter, which they suck up from the Bottom of the Sea. The Triers that open them when dead acquaint me, they never observ'd any Grass, Fish, or any other Sort of Food, in the Whalebone Whale, but only a greyish soft Clay, which the People call *Bole Armoniac*; and yet an experienced Whale-man tells me, that he has seen this Whale in still Weather skimming on the Surface of the Water, to take in a Sort of reddish Spawn or Brett, as some call it, that at sometimes will lie upon the Top of the Water for a Mile together. Here also it may be observ'd, that tho' the Body of this Whale is so very bulky, and so exceeding fat, yet, when cut open, is seldom found to have much more Draught that of an Ox, and they dung much as Neat Cattle do. Their

Swallow



230 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

Swallow is not much bigger than an Ox's, but the Fin-back Whale has a larger Swallow, for he lives upon the smaller Fish, as Mackarel, Herrings, &c. great Sculls of which they run through, and with a short Turn cause an Eddy or Whirlpool, by the Force of which the small Fish are brought into a Cluster, so that this Fish with open Mouth will take in some hundreds at a Time of them. The *Sperma Ceti* Whale, besides other Fish, feeds much upon a Fish that has a Bill, our Fishermen call them Squid-fish: The small Pieces of these Squid-bills are plainly discerned in the Ambergris, and may be pick'd out of it; they appear glazy, and like little Pieces of broken Shells.

Mr. Harris, in his *Bibliotheca Navigantium*, &c. has given us a very particular Account of the Method of taking Whales at *Greenland*, and tho' our Way in *New England* differs very much from that, yet I shall wave it, as not so strictly appertaining to Philosophy; only I would take Notice of the Boats our Whale-men use in going from the Shore after the Whale: They are made of Cedar Clap-boards, and so very light, that two Men can conveniently carry them, and yet they are twenty Feet long, and carry six Men, viz. the Harpooner in the Fore-part of the Boat, four

Oar-men

Oar-men and the Steersman. These Boats run very swift, and by reason of their Lightness can be brought on and off, and so kept out of Danger. The Whale is sometimes kill'd with a single Stroke, and yet at other Times she will hold the Whale-men in Play near half a Day together with their Lances, and will sometimes get away after they have been launc'd and spouted Blood, with Irons in them and Drags fasten'd to them, which are thick Boards about eighteen Inches square. Our People formerly used to kill the Whale near the Shore, but now they go off to Sea in Sloops and Whale-boats, in the Months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, between Cape *Cod* and *Bermudas*, where they lie-by in the Night, and sail to and again in the Day, and seldom miss of them, bringing home the Blubber in their Sloops. The true Season for taking the right or Whalebone Whale is from the Beginning of *February* to the End of *May*; of the *Sperma Ceti* Whale from the Beginning of *June* to the End of *August*: And it has been observed by our Fishermen, that when a *Sperma Ceti* Whale is struck, he usually, if not always, throws the Excrements out of the *Anus*.

The wonderful and even the prodigious Strength of this Creature lies principally in their Tail, that being their offensive and defensive

defensive Weapon. Many Instances of this Kind I have had from credible Persons, who were Eye-Witnesses. I will mention but a few. A Boat has been cut down from Top to Bottom with the Tail of a Whale, as if cut with a Saw, the Clap-boards scarcely splinter'd, tho' the Gunnel upon the Top is of a tough Wood. Another has had the Stem or Stern-post, of about three Inches through, and of the toughest Wood that can be found, into which the Ends of the Cedar Clap-boards are nail'd, cut off smooth above the Cuddee, without so much as shattering the Boat, or drawing the Nails of the Clap-boards. An Oar has been cut off with a Stroke upwards, and yet not so much as lifted up out of the Thole-pin. One Person had an Oar cut off while in his Hand, and yet never felt any jarring.

A few Years since, one of the Fin-back Whales came into a Harbour near Cape Cod, and row'd away a Sloop of near forty Tons out of the Harbour into the Sea. This Accident happen'd thus: It was thought the Whale was rubbing herself upon the Fluke of the Anchor, and going near the Bottom got the Fluke into her Nisket, or the Orifice of the *Uterus*, and finding herself caught, tore away with such Violence, that she tow'd the Ship out of the Harbour as fast as if she had been under Sail with a good Gale of Wind,

Wind, to the Astonishment of the People on Shore, for there was no Body on Board. When the Whale came into deep Water, she went under, and had like to have carried the Sloop with her, but the Cables gave way, and so the Boats that were out after her recover'd it. This Whale was found dead some Days after on that Shore with the Anchor sticking in her Belly.

After a Whale is dead, it has been observed that the same Way the Head lies, so the Head will lie, if not forcibly turn'd; and let the Wind blow which Way it will, that Way will they scull a-head, tho' right in the Eye of the Wind, and they are much easier tow'd to the Shore, if they die that Way with their Head than any other.

The Enemies of the Whale, or the Fish that prey upon the Whales, and often kill the young Ones (for they will not venture upon a young One, unless much wounded) our Whale-men have given the Name of Killers. The Killers are from twenty to thirty Feet long, and have Teeth in both Jaws that lock one within another: They have a Fin in the middle of their Backs four or five Feet long: They go in Company by Dozens, and set upon a young Whale, and will bait him like so many Bull-Dogs; some will lay hold of his Tail to keep him from threshing, while others lay hold of his Head, and



and bite and thresh him till the poor Creature being thus heated lolls out his Tongue, and then some of the Killers catch hold of his Lips, and if possible of his Tongue; and after they have kill'd him, they chiefly feed upon the Tongue and Head, but when he begins to putrify they leave him. This Killer is without doubt the *Orca* that Dr. *Frangius* describes in his *Treatise of Animals*: His Words are these: *Quando Orca insequitur Balenam, ipsa Balena horribilem edit mugitum non aliter quam cum Taurus mortetur a cane.* These Killers are of such invincible Strength, that when several Boats together have been towing a dead Whale, one of them has come and fasten'd his Teeth in her, and carried her away to the Bottom in an Instant. And sometimes they have bit out a Piece of Blubber of about two Feet square, which is of that Toughness that a Iron with little Beards being struck into it, will hold 'till it draws the Boat under Water. The Killers are sometimes taken, and make good Oil, but have no Whalebone. The Carcases of Whales in the Sea serve for Food for Gulls and other Sea Fowls, as well as Sharks, for they are not very nice.

Many and various have been the Opinions (even of the learned World) as to the Origin and Nature of Ambergris. Some have reckon'd it a Bitumen, and to issue from the

the Intrails of the Earth; others, that it was produc'd from some Insect, as Honey, Silk, &c. The famous Mr. Boyle, as I find it in the second Volume of *Lorethorpe's Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions*, communicates an Account of Ambergris from a *Dutch* Merchant, who first denies it to be the Scum or Excrement of a Whale, and then gives it as his Opinion, that it is a fat Gum that issues from the Root of a Tree, and that you may raise it in Quantities by planting those Trees by the Shore, and so the Stream will cast it up to great Advantage. But now it is found out, that this *Occultum Nature* is an Animal Production, and bred in the Body of the *Sperma Ceti* Whale, analogous to what is found in some Animals of the Land, as the Musk-Hog, or *Taicu*, the Musk-Deer, the *Bezoar* Sheep, and some amphibious Animals, as the *Musquash*, &c. who have their valuable Scent in a particular *Cystus* or Bag. I am apt to think that which first gave Occasion to the Notice of Ambergris being the Production of the Whale, was because it was found in considerable Quantities on the Shores of the *Summer Islands*, and among the *Bahama's*, where the dead Whales are frequently wrecked, and broke up with the Sea, and the Ambergris found floating on the Shore; but here again the Ingenious, until very lately, were

were at a Loss, and divided in Opinion; for tho' they agreed it to come from the Whale, yet some took it to be the true and proper *Semen*, being found only in the Bull at the Root of the *Penis* near the Testicles; others again thought it was the Ordure or Excrement of the Whale.

The best and most exact Account of Ambergris, that I have been able to procure, I very lately received from one Mr. *Atkins*, now an Inhabitant at *Boston* in *New England*, who used the Whale-Fishery for ten or twelve Years together, and was one of the first that went out a-fishing for the *Sperma Ceti* Whales, about the Year 1670, and then began to discover the Ambergris; and being a sober ingenious Man, what he says may safely be depended upon, tho' for Substance I have had it from several of the Whale-men.

His Relation, which was taken a few Days since from his own Mouth, is as follows.

*The Ambergris is found only in the Sperma Ceti Whales, and consists of Balls, or globular Bodies, of various Sizes, from about three Inches to twelve Inches diameter, and will weigh from a Pound and an half to twenty-two Pounds, lying loose in a large oval Bag or Bladder, of three or four Foot long, and two or three Foot deep, and wide almost*

almost in the Form of an Ox's Bladder, only the Ends more acute, or like a Blacksmith's long Bellows, with a Snout running tapering into and through the Length of the Penis, and a Duct or Canal opening into the other End of the Bag, and coming from towards the Kidnies; this Bag lies just over the Testicles, which are above a Foot long, and is placed length-ways at the Root of the Penis, about four or five Foot below the Navel, and three or four Foot above the Anus. This Bag or Bladder is almost of a deep Orange-colour'd Liquor, not quite so thick as Oil, and smelling strong or rather stronger, of the same Scent of the Balls of Ambergris which float and swim loose in it. The Inside of the Bag is very deeply tinged with the same Colour as the Liquor, which may also be found in the Canal of the Penis. The Balls seem to be pretty hard while the Whale is alive, inasmuch as there are many times found upon opening the Bag large concave Shells of the same Substance and Consistence, that have scaled off from them; and the Balls themselves seem to be composed of several distinct Coats inclosing one another sometimes like the Coats of an Onion.

As to the Number of Balls, Mr. Atkins never found above four in a Bag, and in the Bag where he found one that weigh'd twenty-  
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## 238 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

ty-one Pounds, which was the largest he ever saw, there was no other.

He further adds, *That to one Sperma Ceti Whale that has any of these Balls, there are two that have nothing but the Orange-colour'd Liquor aforesaid in their Bags.* This Remark confirms what another Whale-man told me, 'That the Ambergris was found 'only in such *Sperma Ceti* Whales as are 'old and well-grown.' It is the general Opinion of the Whale-men, that the Ambergris is produced only by the Male, or Bull *Sperma Ceti* Whale. As to this Particular, Mr. Atkins says, *He never saw or certainly heard of a Female Sperma Ceti Whale taken in his Life, the Cows of that Species of Whales being much more timorous than the Males, and almost impossible to be come at, unless when happily found a-sleep on the Water and detained by their Calves.* This is certain, the Boats can never come near them when they are awake, they are so very shy and fearful.

Mr. Atkins's Method of getting the Ambergris out of the Whale was thus: After the Fish is killed, he turns the Belly upwards, and fixes a Tackle to the *Penis*; then cuts a Hole round the Root of the *Penis*, thro' the Rim of the Belly, till he comes to the Intrails, and then searching for the Duct or Canal at the farther End of the Bag, cuts the

the Duct off beyond it, upon which he draws forth the *Penis* by the Tackle, and the Ambergis Bag entirely follows it, and comes clean and whole out of the Belly.

The Reverend Mr. *Prince of Boston*, who took the preceding Relation from Mr. *Atkins*, apprehends the Bag aforesaid to be the Urinary Bladder, and the Ambergis Ball to be a certain Concretion formed out of the greasy oderiferous Substance of the Liquor aforesaid contained within it. As for my own Part, I dare not pretend to give any Opinion upon the Point, but content myself with relating Matters of Fact.

It may be added here, that the Bone taken out of the *New England* Whales is not near so great as that taken out of the *Greenland* Whales, being too brittle for the Uses Whalebone is put to, otherwise we should not be obliged to import so much of the *Hollanders* Whalebone: But as the *New England* Men are now got into the Way of Fishing for Whales in *Greenland*, it is probable they will be able to furnish their Mother Country with the best Whalebone in a few Years, and we shall not be oblig'd to part with so much Treasure to the *Dutch* for this Kind of Merchandize.

The Plants of *England*, as well those of the Fields and Orchards, as of the Garden, that have been brought over hither, suit mighty

240 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

mighty well with our Soil, and grow here to great Perfection.

Our Apples are without doubt as good as those in *England*, and much fairer to look to, and so are the Pears, but we have not got of all the Sorts.

Our Peaches do rather excel those of *England*; and then we have not the Trouble or Expence of Walls for them; for our Peach-Trees are all Standards, and I have had in my own Garden seven or eight hundred fine Peaches of the Rare-ripes growing at a Time on one Tree.

Our People of late Years have run so much upon Orchards, that in a Village near *Boston*, consisting of about forty Families, they made near three thousand Barrels of Cyder: This was in the Year 1721. And in another Town of two hundred Families, in the same Year, I am credibly inform'd they made near ten thousand Barrels. Some of our Apple-Trees will make six, and some have made seven Barrels of Cyder, but this is not common; and the Apples will yield from seven to nine Bushels for a Barrel of Cyder. A good Apple-Tree with us will measure from six to ten Feet in Girt. I have seen a fine Pearmain at a Foot from the Ground measure ten Feet and four Inches round: This Tree in one Year has borne thirty-eight Bushels (by measure) of as fine Pearmain

Pearmain as ever I saw in *England*. A *Kentish* Pippin at three Feet from the Ground seven Feet in Girt: A Golden Rossetin six Feet round. The largest Apple-Tree that I could find was ten Feet and six Inches round, but this was no Graft.

An Orange Pear-Tree grows the largest and yields the fairest Fruit. I have known one of them near forty Feet high that measured six Feet and six Inches in Girt a Yard from the Ground, and has borne thirty Bushels at a time; and this Year I measur'd an Orange-Pear that grew in my own Orchard of eleven Inches round the Bulge. I have a Warden Pear-Tree that measures five Feet six Inches round. One of my Neighbours has a Bergamot Pear-Tree that was brought from *England* in a Box about the Year 1643, that now measures six Feet about, and has borne twenty-two Bushels of fine Pears in one Year. About twenty Years since, the Owner took a Cyon and grafted it upon a Hedge-Pear, but the Fruit does not prove altogether so good, and the Rind or Skin is thicker than that of the Original.

Our Peach-Trees are large and fruitful, and bear commonly in three Years from the Stone. I have one in my Garden of twelve Years Growth that measures two Feet and an Inch in Girt a Yard from the Ground, which



242 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

which two Years ago bore me near a Bushel of fine Peaches. Our common Cherries are not so good as the *Kentish* Cherries in *England*; and we have no Dukes, or Heart-Cherries, unless in two or three Gardens.

Some Years since, I measur'd a *Platanus Occidentalis*, or Button-wood-Tree (as they are call'd here) of nine Yards in Girth, and it held its Bigness a great way up. This Tree, when was it cut down, I am inform'd, made twenty-two Cord of Wood. A Gentleman tells me, that in the Forest he met with a strait Ash that grew like a Pillar of a great Height, and free from Limbs, that measured fourteen Feet eight Inches round, near a Yard from the Ground; and t'other Day I met with a Sassafras-Tree that measured five Feet three Inches in Girth. I meddle not here with our noble Pines and Cedars, as also of the Ever-greens, in which this Country very much abounds. Among our Trees of quick and easy Growth, the Button-wood, before-mention'd, and the Locust Tree are the most remarkable; as to the latter, by the Description Mr. *Moore*, while in *New England*, gave me of the Manna-Tree, our Locust-Tree may be call'd the *American* Manna. I have known a Seed of it blown off from the Tree into my Garden that took Root of itself, and in less than two Years was got above six Feet high, and

and as big about as a common Walking-Cane. The *Platanus* I have frequently propagated by cutting off Sticks of five or six Feet long, and setting them a Foot deep in the Ground, in the Spring of the Year when the Season was wet; they thrive best in a moist Soil.

An Onion set out for Seed will rise to four Feet nine Inches in Height. A Parsnip will reach to eight Feet. White Orrice eight. In the Pastures I measured Seed Mullen nine Feet two Inches in Height, and one of the common Thistles above eight Feet.

Among the remarkable Instances of the Power of Vegetation, I shall begin with an Account of a Pompion Seed, which I have well attested from a worthy Divine. The Relation is as follows: That in the Year 1699, a single Pompion Seed was accidentally dropp'd in a small Pasture where Cattle had been fodder'd for some Time. This single Seed took Root of itself, and without any manner of Care, the Vine run along over several Fences, and spread over a large Piece of Ground far and wide, and continued its Progress till the Frost came and kill'd it. This Seed had no more than one Stalk, but a very large one, for it measured eight Inches round. From this single Vine they gathered two hundred and sixty Pompions, and one with another as big as a

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Half-

Half-peck, enough in the whole to fill a large Tumbrel, besides a considerable Number of small and unripe Pompions that they made no account of. The *Philosophical Transactions* give an Account of a single Plant of Barley that by sleeping and watering with Salt-petre dissolved in Water produced two hundred and forty-nine Stalks, and eighteen thousand Grains; but then there was Art and even Force in that Case, whereas in ours there was nothing but pure Nature and Accident.

Our *Indian* Corn is the most prolific Grain that we have, and commonly produces twelve hundred, and often two thousand Grains from one; but the fairest Computation is thus: Six Quarts of this Grain will plant an Acre of Ground, and it is not unusual for an Acre of good Ground to produce fifty Bushels of Corn. *Indian* Corn is of several Colours, as blue, white, red, and yellow; and if they are planted separately, so that no other Sort be near them, they will keep to their own Colour: But if in the same Field you plant the blue Corn in one Row of Hills (as we term them) and the white or yellow in the next Row, they will mix and interchange their Colours; that is, some of the Ears of Corn in the blue Corn Rows shall be white or yellow, and some again in the white or yellow Rows shall

shall be blue. Our Hills of *Indian* Corn are generally about four Feet asunder, and so continued in a strait Line as far as the Field will allow; and then a second Line or Row of Hills, and so on; and yet this mixing and interchanging of Colours has been observ'd when the Distance between the Row has been several Yards; and a worthy Clergyman of an Island in this Province assures me, that the blue Corn has thus communicated or exchanged even at a Distance of four or five Rods, and particularly in one Place where there was a broad Ditch of Water betwixt them. Some of our People, but especially the *Aborigines*, have been of Opinion, that this Commixtion and Interchange was owing to the Roots and small Fibres reaching to and communicating with one another: But this must certainly be a Mistake, considering the great Distance of the Communication, especially at some Times, and cros a Canal of Water; for the small Fibres of the Roots of our *Indian* Corn cannot extend above four or five Feet. I am therefore humbly of Opinion, that the *Stamina*, or Principles of this wonderful Copulation, or mixing of Colours, are carried by the Wind, and that the Season of it is when the Corn is in the Eating, and while the Milk is in the Grain; for at that Time the Corn is in Sort of a Estuation, and emits a strong



246 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

a strong Scent. One Thing which confirms the Air's being the Medium of this Communication of Colours in the Corn is an Observation of one of my Neighbours, that a close high Board Fence between two Fields of Corn, that were of a different Colour, entirely prevented any Mixture or Alteration of Colour from that they were planted with.

Forest-Trees and others of the Growth of *New England* are Cedar, Oak, Ash, Elm, Cypress, Pine, Fir, Aspin, Beech, Walnut, Chesnut, Hazel, Sassafras, Summack, and other Woods used in dying and tanning Leather. Their Fir-Trees are of an uncommon Growth, and furnish the Royal Navy of *England* with Masts and Yards; they draw also from these and other Trees, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Turpentine, Gums and Balms, used in Physick and Surgery.

They had a Variety of Fruits of their own Growth before the *English* arrived, particularly Grapes, Strawberries, Rasberries, Hurtleberries, Filberts, and many more mentioned among the Plants of *Virginia*: As also Roots and Sallad Herbs, several Sorts of Beans and Pulse, but they had the greatest Plenty of Kidney Beans of any of them. I shall now proceed to treat of the Laws, &c. used in the several Provinces in *New England*.

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The Laws of the greatest Consequence in this Colony, and the Administration of 'em, are thus summ'd up by my Author, Mr. *Dummer*: He says, that there is in every County an Office, where all Conveyances of Land are enter'd at large, after the Grantees have first acknowledg'd them before a Justice of the Peace; by which means much Fraud is prevented, no Person being able to sell his Estate twice, or take up more Money than 'tis worth. Provision has likewise been made for the Security of the Life and Property of the Subject in the Matter of Juries, who are not returned by the Sheriff of the County, but are chosen by the Inhabitants of the several Towns a convenient Time before the Sitting of the Courts. And this Election is under the most exact Regulation, in order to prevent Corruption, so far as human Prudence can do it. It must be noted, that Sheriffs in the Plantations are comparatively but little Officers, and not to be trusted as here, where they are Men of ample Fortunes. And yet even here such flagrant Corruptions have been found in returning Juries by Sheriffs, that the House of Commons thought it necessary lately to amend the Law in this Point, and pass'd a Bill for chusing them by Ballot.

Redress in their Courts of Law is easy, quick, and cheap. All Processes are in *English*,

*English*,

248 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
gliss, and no special Pleadings or Demur-  
rers are admitted, but the general Issue is  
always given, and special Matters brought  
in Evidence, which saves Time and Expence;  
and in this Case a Man not liable to lose his  
Estate for a Defect in Form; nor is the Me-  
rit of the Cause made to depend on the  
Niceties of Clerkship. By a Law of the  
Country, no Writ may be abated for a cir-  
cumstantial Error, such as a slight Mis-no-  
mer, or any Informality. And by another  
Law, it is enacted, that every Attorney ta-  
king out a Writ from the Clerks Office,  
shall indorse his Sirname upon it, and be  
liable to pay to the adverse Party his Costs  
and Charges in case of Non-prosecution or  
Discontinuance, or that the Plaintiff be  
non-suited, or Judgment pass against him.  
And it is provided in the same Act, that if  
the Plaintiff shall suffer a Non-suit by the  
Attorney's mis-laying the Action, he shall  
be obliged to draw a new Writ without a  
Fee, in case the Party should see fit to re-  
vive the Suit. I can't but think that every  
Body, except Gentlemen of the long Robe,  
and the Attornies, will think this a whole-  
some Law, and well calculated for the Be-  
nefit of the Subject. For the quicker Dis-  
patch of Causes, Declarations are made  
Parts of the Writ, in which the Case is fully  
and particularly set forth. If it be Matter  
of

of Accompt, the Accompt is annexed to the Writ, and Copies of both left with the Defendant; which being done, fourteen Days before the Sitting of the Court, he is obliged to plead directly, and the Issue is then try'd. Whereas by the Practice of the Court of *King's Bench*, three or four Months Time is often lost after the Writ is served, before the Cause can be brought to Issue.

Nor are the People of *New England* oppress'd with the infinite Delays and Expence that attend the Proceedings in *Chancery*, where both Parties are often ruin'd by the Charge and Length of the Suit. But, as in all other Countries, *England* only excepted, *Jus & Aequum* are held the same, and never divided, so it is there; A Power of *Chancery* being vested in the Judges of the Courts of Common Law, as to some particular Cases, and they make equitable Constructions in others. I must add, that the Fees of Officers of all Sorts are settl'd by Acts of Assembly at moderate Prices for the Ease of the Subject.

*To these Laws give me Leave to add some others.*

If a Man commit Adultery with a married Woman, or Maid, or Woman espoused, both the Man and Woman are to be put to Death.

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250 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

The Punishment for Robbery on the Highway, or Burglary, for the first Offence, is only branding in the Forehead; for the second Offence, branding again and whipping; and the third Offence, Death.

Blasphemy is punished with Death.

Cruel Punishments, or Correction of Servants or Children, are prohibited; nor shall any Court of Justice condemn any Offender to receive more than forty Stripes.

No Person condemn'd to die shall be executed within fourteen Days after Condemnation.

Masters of Families are to instruct their Children and Apprentices in the Penal Laws.

A Child upwards of sixteen Years of Age striking or cursing his Parent, to be put to Death.

If any Parent or Guardian shall deny a Child timely and convenient Marriage, a Redress may be had.

No Orphan shall be disposed of by any Guardian without the Consent of some Court.

The Minority of Women, in Case of Marriage, is declared to be under sixteen Years of Age.

Any Magistrate may hear and determine Civil Causes in the County where the Debt or Damages do not exceed forty Shillings, and

and no such Causes shall be brought before a Court.

False Witnesses, forswearing themselves with a Design to take away another's Life, shall suffer Death.

Fornication is punished either by compelling Marriage, fining the Parties, corporal Punishment, Disfranchisement, or of all these, as the Court shall direct.

No Man shall be admitted a Freeman but a Member of some Church in the Colony.

No Man who is a Member of a Church shall be exempted from Offices.

All *Englishmen* Orthodox in Religion; not scandalous in Life, who are Freeholders of the Country, and rateable in one single Rate at ten Shillings, and of twenty-four Years of Age, shall be admitted to the Freedom of the Commonwealth. Made *Anno* 1664.

During the Usurpation, *Anno* 1646, they passed a Law against Hereticks, wherein they recite, That notwithstanding no human Power is Lord over the Faith and Consciences of Men, yet to avoid damnable Heresies tending to the subverting the Christian Faith, spreading among the Inhabitants of this Jurisdiction, 'tis enacted, That if any Person within this Jurisdiction shall broach and maintain any damnable Heresies,

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252 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

as denying the Immortality of the Soul, or the Resurrection of the Body, or any Sin to be repented of in the Regenerate, or any Evil to be done by the outward Man to be accounted Sin, or shall deny that Christ gave himself a Ransom for our Sins, or shall affirm that we are not justified by his Death and Righteousness, but by our own Merit, or shall deny the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, or shall openly oppose or condemn the Baptizing of Infants, or shall purposely depart the Congregation at the Administration of the Ordinance of Baptism, or shall deny the Ordinance of Magistracy, or their lawful Authority to make War and Peace, and to punish the outward Breaches of the first Table, or shall endeavour to seduce others to any of these Opinions, every such Person lawfully convicted shall be banished this Jurisdiction.

Whoever shall revile the Office or Person of a Magistrate or Minister (Clergyman) shall be severely whipp'd, and pay the Penalty of five Pounds.

Whoever shall publish any heterodox Opinions in Religion shall be censur'd by the County Court.

Raw Hides, Skins, or Leather unwrought, shall not be exported, on Pain of Forfeiture,

*Anno 1646.*

No

No Horse shall be fold or disposed of to any *Indian*, on Pain of One Hundred Pounds.

No Stone-horse shall run in the Woods, unless he be well made and fourteen Hands high.

Jurymen shall be chosen by the Freeman of each County, a convenient Time before the Sitting of the Court.

No *Papists* Priest or Jesuit shall come to or abide within this Jurisdiction, but shall be banished, or otherwise proceeded against as the Court of Assistants shall direct; and if he return from Banishment, he shall be put to Death.

No *Indians* shall be dispossessed of their Lands or Fishing-Grounds; and any *Indians* desiring to live among the *English* shall have Allotments of Land.

No Man shall sell or dispose of Arms or Ammunition to the *Indians*.

No Person shall give or sell Brandy, Rum, or other strong Liquors to the *Indians*.

No Person shall sell or dispose of any Boat or other Vessel to an *Indian*.

Damage done to the *Indians* in their Corn or Cattle shall be recompensed.

The civiliz'd *Indians*, who live under this Government, shall have *Indian* Commissioners in their several Plantations to hear and determine such Differences as a single Magistrate



Magistrate may determine among the *English*, and shall have Marshals and Constables to execute Warrants and Orders. "They shall also have Courts equivalent to County Courts among themselves, provided the *English* Magistrate appoint the Fines, and give his Consent to the Judgments passed; and Matters of a higher Nature shall be determin'd by the Court of Assistants.

No Person shall be permitted to *pawaw*, or perform their idolatrous Worship; neither shall the *Indians* profane the *Lord's Day*.

Strong Liquors found in the Possession of *Indians* shall be seiz'd.

*Indians* found drunk shall be committed till they confess where they had their Liquor, and shall pay ten Shillings for being drunk, or receive ten Stripes.

Persons allow'd to trade with the *Indians* for Skins may sell them Arms and Ammunition on paying certain Duties to the Government, provided such *Indians* are in Amity with the *English*. This Act was made *Anno* 1668.

No Person shall be suffer'd to sit Tippling in a Publick House above half an Hour, except Strangers; or to drink above half a Pint of Wine at a Sitting.

No private Person to permit People to sit tippling in his House, on Pain of twenty Shillings

Shillings for the first Offence, and for the second five Pounds.

All Persons prohibited singing in a Publick House, or to go into one on a *Sunday* or Lecture-Day,

No Victualler to suffer a drunken Fellow, who has been admonish'd of the Offence by the Select Men, to come into his House.

The Stealing of Men is made Capital.

No Man shall strike his Wife, or Woman her Husband, on Pain of ten Pounds, or corporal Punishment, at the Discretion of the County Court.

No Man shall make a Motion of Marriage to any Maid without the Consent of her Parents or Governors, or in their Absence, of the next Magistrate, on Pain of five Pounds for the first Offence, and ten Pounds for the second.

Married People shall not live separately without shewing good Cause to the Court of Assistants.

None shall marry any Person but a Magistrate, or those that are authorized by the Court of Assistants, and that after Banes three Times published in their Churches.

The Freemen of every Town are empowered to settle the Wages of Servants and Labourers there.

If any one maim or disfigure his Servant, he shall be disfranchised.

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256 OLD ENGLAND for Ever ; or,

The Mint shall coin Money Two-pence in the Shilling less in Value than *English* Money. The Exportation of Money is prohibited.

Convicted Criminals refusing to discover their Accomplices, may be put to the Torture.

Playing in the Streets or Fields, walking, drinking, visiting, sporting, and travelling on the Sabbath-Day, prohibited.

No Violence shall be offered to any that suffer Shipwreck upon the Coast, or unto their Goods, but both shall be harbour'd and preserv'd in Safety.

Having thus given the Reader some Account of their Laws, we shall now proceed to say something concerning the Trade of the several Provinces in *New England*.

The State of the Plantations varying almost every Year more or less in their Trade and Manufactures, as well as in other Particulars, 'twas therefore thought necessary for his Majesty's Service, and for the Discharge of their Trust, from time to time to send certain General Queries to the several Governors in *America*, that we might be the more exactly informed of the Condition of the said Plantations ; among which there were several that related to their Trade and Manufactures : To which we received the following Returns.

*New*

*New-Hampshire.*

Colonel Shute, Governor of *New-Hampshire*, in his Answer to the same Queries in 1719, said, That there were no settled Manufactures in that Province, and that their Trade chiefly consisted in Lumber and Fish.

*Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.*

Colonel Shute, at the same Time Governor of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, inform'd us, that in some Parts of this Province the Inhabitants worked up their Wool and Flax, and made an ordinary coarse Cloth for their own Use: but did not export any: That the greatest Part both of the Linnen and Woollen Cloathing, that was then worn in this Province, was imported from *Great-Britain*, and sometimes Linnen from *Ireland*; but considering the excessive Price of Labour in *New-England*, the Merchants could afford what was imported cheaper than what was made in that Country.

That there were also a few Hatters set up in the maritime Towns, and that the greatest Part of the Leather used in that Country was manufactured among themselves.



258 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

That there had been for many Years some Iron-works in that Province, which had afforded the People Iron for some of their necessary Occasions; but that the Iron imported from *Great-Britain* was esteemed much the best, and wholly used by the Shipping.

That the Iron-works of that Province were not able to supply the twentieth Part of what was necessary for the Use of the Country,

*New-York.*

General *Hunter*, formerly Governor of *New-York*, in his Answer to the Queries in the Year 1720, inform'd us, that they had no Manufactures in that Province that deserved mentioning; and that the Trade consisted chiefly in Furs, Whale-bone, Oil, Pitch, Tar, and Provisions.

*New-Jersey.*

General *Hunter*, formerly Governor of this Province, also informs us in his Answer to the same Queries in the Year 1720, that there were in that Province no Manufactures that deserve mentioning; and that their Trade was chiefly in Provisions exported to *New-York* and *Pennsylvania*.

*Pennsyl-*

*Pennsylvania.*

Colonel *Hart*, formerly Governor of *Maryland*, who lived many Years in the Neighbourhood of this Government, in Answer to the like Queries in 1720, relating to this Province, said, that their chief Trade lay in the Exportation of Provisions and Lumber; and that they had no Manufactures established, their Cloathing and Utensils for their Houses being all imported from *Great-Britain*.

*New-Hampshire.*

Mr. *Belcher*, Governor of *New-Hampshire*, in his Letter dated the 4th of *December* last, informs us, that the Woollen Manufacture of that Province was much less than formerly, the common Lands on which the Sheep used to feed being now divided into particular Properties, and the People almost wholly clothed with Woollen from *Great-Britain*: That the manufacturing of Flax into Linnen (some coarser, some finer) daily increased, by the great Resort of People from *Ireland* into this Province, who are well skilled in that Business.

And the chief Trade of this Province continued, as for many Years past, in the Exportation of Naval Stores, Lumber and Fish.

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*Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.*

Mr. Belcher, the present Governor of this Province, in Answer to the same Queries, which we sent him in *June* last, informs us,

That there is a Resolve of the Assembly of that Province subsisting, for allowing a Bounty of twenty Shillings to all Persons, and ten Shillings more to *John Powell*, the first Undertaker, for every Piece of Duck or Canvas by them made; but he does not give us any Account of the Quantity that has been made.

He farther says, that there are some other Manufactures carried on there, as the making of brown Hollands for Womens Wear, which lessens the Importation of Calicoes, and some other Sorts of *Indian* Goods in that Province.

That there are likewise some small Quantities of Cloth made of Linnen and Cotton, for ordinary Shirting and Sheetting.

That about three Years ago a Paper-mill was set up, which makes to the Value of about 200 l. Sterling *per an.*

That there are several Forges for making Bar-Iron, and some Furnaces for Cast-Iron (or Hollow-ware) and one Slitting-mill, the Under-

Undertaker whereof carries on the Manufacture on Na ls.

As to the Woollen Manufacture, Mr. *Belcher* says, the Country People, who used formerly to make most of their Cloathing out of their own Wool, do not now make a third Part of what they wear, but are mostly cloathed with *British* Manufactures.

We are likewise inform'd, by some Letters of older Date from Mr. *Belcher*, in Answer to our annual Queries, that there are some few Copper-Mines in this Province, but so far distant from Water-Carriage, and the Oar so poor, that it is not worth the digging.

Colonel *Dunbar*, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Woods, in his Letter of September the 5th, 1730, takes Notice, that the People of *New-England* have an Advantage over those of *Great-Britain*, in the Draw-back for all *India* and other Goods exported, which pay a Duty in *Great Britain*, and no Duty is paid upon importing them into the Plantations. He has likewise sent this Board several Samples of Edge-Tools made in *New-England*; and in his Letter to our Secretary of the 4th of June 1731, he says they have six Furnaces and nineteen Forges for making Iron in *New-England*.

He



262 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

He also informs us, in his Letter of the 19th of *August*, 1730, that in this Province many Ships are built for the *French* and *Spaniards*, in return for Rum, Molosses, Wines, and Silks, which they truck there by Connivance.

These Informations have been in a great measure confirm'd by Mr. *Jeremiah Dummer*, Deputy Surveyor of the Woods, and also by Mr. *Thomas Coram*, a Person of Reputation, who resided many Years in *New-England*: To which they have added, that great Quantities of Hats are made in *New-England*, of which the Compny of Hatters of *London* have have likewise lately complain'd to us: and Mr. *Jeremiah Dummer* further says, that great Quantities of Hats made in that Province are exported to *Spain*, *Portugal* and our *West-India* Islands; and that they make all sorts of Iron-work for Shipping, and that there are several Still-houses and Sugar-bakers in *New-England*,

*New-York.*

Mr. *Rip Van Dam*, President of the Council of this Province, in his Letter of the 29th of *October* last, informs us, that there are no Manufactures established there

there that can affect the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*.

And as to the Trade and Navigation of the Province, he acquaints us there is yearly imported into *New-York* a very large Quantity of the Woolen Manufacture of this Kingdom for their Cloathing; which they should be render'd incapable to pay for, and reduc'd to the Necessity of making for themselves, if they were prohibited from receiving from the foreign Sugar Colonies the Money, Rum, Sugar, Molosses, Cacao, Indico, Cotton, Wool, &c. which they at present take in return for Provisions, Horses, and Lumber, the Produce of that Province and *New-Jersey*, of which he affirms the *British*, Sugar Colonies do not take off above one half.

But the Company of Hatters in *London* have since inform'd us, that Hats are manufactur'd in great Quantities in this Province.

### *New-Jersey.*

Mr. *Morris*, who is at present Commander in chief of this Province, has made no particular Return for the same.

### *Pensyl-*

*Pennsylvania.*

Major Gordon, Deputy Governor of *Pennsylvania*, in his Answer received the 24th of last Month, informs us, that he does not know of any Trade carried on in that Province that can be injurious to this Kingdom; and that they do not export any Woollen or Linnen Manufactures, all they make (which are of a coarser sort) being for the use of themselves and Families.

We are further inform'd, that in this Province are built Brigantines and small Sloops, which they sell to the *West-Indies*.

*Rhode-Island.*

The Governor of *Rhode-Island*, in his Answer to *Queries* dated the 9th of *November* last, informs us, that there is Iron Mines there, but not a fourth Part Iron enough to serve their own Use; but he takes no Notice of any sort of Manufacture set up there.

*Connecticut.*

We have no Return from the Governor of this Province; but we find by some Accounts, that the Produce of this Colony is

is Timber-board, all Sorts of *Englifo* Grain, Hemp, Flax, Sheep, Cattle, Swine, Horses, Goats and Tobacco, of which they export Horses and Lumber to the *West-Indies*, and receive in return Sugar, Salt, Molosses and Rum. We likewise find that their Manufactures are very inconsiderable, the People there being generally employ'd in Tillage; some few in Tanning, Shoe-making, and other Handicrafts; others in Building, Joiners, Taylors, and Smiths Work, without which they could not subsist.

*The Sugar Colonies, viz. Jamaica, Leeward Islands, and Barbadoes.*

By the last Returns which we have had from those Islands to our Circular *Queries*, we do not find that they have any other Manufactures establish'd besides those of Sugar, Molosses, Rum, and Indigo of their own Produce; these with Cotton, Aloes, Piemento, and some other Productions of less Note, are their whole Dependance, which are Commodities no ways interfering with the Manufacture of this Kingdom.

In 1724, Mr. *Worsey*, then Governor of *Barbadoes*, inform'd us, that of Cotton they made Hammocks, a few Stockings, and Nots for Horses.

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From the foregoing State it is observable that there are more Trades carry'd on, and Manufactures set up in the Provinces on the Continent of *America* to the Northward of *Virginia* prejudicial to the Trade and Manufacture of *Great-Britain*, particularly in *New-England*, than in any other *British* Colonies, which is not to be wonder'd at; for their Soil, Climate, and Produce being pretty near with ours, they have no Staple Commodities of their own Growth to exchange for our Manufactures, which puts them under great Necessity, as well as under greater Temptation of providing for themselves at Home. To which may be added, in the Charter Governments the little Dependance they have upon their Mother Country, and consequently the small Restraints they are under in any Matters detrimental to her Interest.

And therefore we would humbly beg leave to report and submit to the Wisdom of this honourable House the Substance of what we formerly propos'd in our Report on the Silk, Linnen, and Woollen Manufactures herein before recited; namely, whether it might not be Expedient to give these Colonies proper Encouragements for turning their Industry to such Manufactures and Products as might be of Service to *Great-Britain*,

*Britain*, and more particularly to the Production of all kinds of naval Stores.

From a considerable Merchant of *New-England* I receiv'd the following Account of the Trade and Produce of *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantation* (*viz.*) That they have a great Trade by Sea to the *British West-Indies*, to the *Dutch Colonies* at *Surinam* on the Continent of *South-America* and to the *Dutch Island of Curaco*, or *Curaçow*, near the Coast of *Terra-Firma*, whither they send Horses, Salt, Provisions and Lumber, that is, Deal-boards, Pipe-slaves, Hoops, and Shingles. They also send their Ships sometime by the way of the *West-Indies* to *London*: And several Vessels sail annually to the Bay of *Honduras* for Logwood, which they transport to *Europe*; but this Colony has very little Concern in the Fishery.

They are supply'd with most of their *British* Manufactures from *Boston*; but sometimes they import these themselves directly from *Great-Britain*. It is a pleasant healthful and fruitful Country. They breed and feed great Numbers of Horses and black Cattle, their Land being proper for grazing. They have some *Indian* Corn indeed; but very little other Grain, importing their Wheat from *New-York*, and some from *Virginia*. Here are some Iron Mines also

also wrought, and turn to a good Account; for they make many of their own Edge-Tools and Implements of Husbandry.

Upon a Review of the whole Work, it appears that never any People were possessed of so fine a Country, and so happily situated, as that which is subject to the Crown of *Great-Britain* on the other Side of the *Atlantic Ocean*; a Country of fifteen hundred Miles Extent; where every thing that is necessary, every thing "desirable in Life, is, or may be produced in the greatest Abundance, and brought to the Metropolis of the three Kingdoms with as little Labour and Expence almost as they may be brought from any distant County of *England*; it being but a six Weeks Voyage in an open Sea, not subject to the Interruptions and Accidents of Coasting Voyages.

The Eastern Shores of *North America*, on which our Colonies are situated, abound in commodious Harbours and Navigable Rivers, insomuch that Ships take in their Lading in many Places at the Planters Doors, and then falling down into the Ocean, sail directly home; whereas, both the *French* and *Spaniards* have a much longer and more difficult Navigation to and from those Parts of that Continent which are possessed by them. It is evident to a Demonstration, that in these Countries it is in our Power to raise

raise Silk, Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tar, Wine, Oil, Raisins, and other Fruits; and that the Sugar and Tobacco Colonies and Fisheries we already have in that Part of the World, bring us in an inconceivable Treasure.

But it is as evident these Articles are not considered with that Attention their Importance seem to demand.

Every one, who has made any Calculation of our national Expences, knows that we lay out annually with Foreigners four Millions of Money and upwards in Silks, Linnen, Lace, Wine, Naval-Stores, and other Merchandise, which we might make ourselves, if our Colonies were encouraged to raise the Materials; and it is computed, that those Materials would employ half a Million of People at home, who are now a Burthen to their Country.

It is obvious, our People are vastly increased of late Years; and tho' Multitudes, when rightly employed, are the Strength and Riches of a Nation, many of ours are become an intolerable Charge upon the Land; purely for Want of being set to work on proper Materials under the Direction of skilful Masters.

If it be demanded, what is the Reason we import such vast Quantities of Lace, Linnen, Naval-Stores, &c. from Foreigners, when our own Territories would produce them;



270 OLD ENGLAND *for Ever*; or,  
them; and suffer our People at home to  
starve, or be a Burthen to the Nation, when  
we might find Employment for all of them  
and as many more, and not only ease our  
Lands from this Burthen, but vastly enrich  
the Nation by their Labour?

The usual Answers we meet with are  
these, 1. That it will cost some Money, and  
be some time before we can raise Silk, Flax,  
Wine, &c. and establish Manufactures: And  
2. That foreign Goods pay great Duties to  
the Crown, which Duties would be dimi-  
nished, if we produced the like Materials, and  
established the like Manufactures at home,  
or in our Plantations.

And I confess more formidable Objec-  
tions cannot be made: For how advantageous  
soever a Proposal may be made to the Na-  
tion in general, yet if Money is required to  
carry it on, or it may affect the Publick  
Revenue, it cannot be expected it should  
meet with much Countenance from Gentle-  
men whose Business it is to advance the Re-  
venue; but as the Body of the People seem  
now convinced, that it is their Interest to  
raise and manufacture their own Consump-  
tion, and to support and encourage our Plan-  
tations, in order to furnish them with Ma-  
terials, I shall not despair but the thing will  
be effected one time or other, whatever Ob-  
stacles

stacles may be thrown in the Way by interested or designing Men.

It is admitted on all Hands that the Poor's Rates, though paid by the Tenant, are in Reality a Charge upon every Gentleman's Estate. If the Rate amounts to one, two, or three Shillings in the Pound, the Gentleman must abate proportionably in his Rent, or the Tenant cannot hold his Farm.

Whatever lessens the Poor's Rates therefore is an Advantage to the Landed Interest; and by keeping the Poor employed, you do not only save a great Expence, and enrich your Country, but you prevent their taking vicious Courses: You save them from Gallows, and your Persons and Estates from Violence and Rapine: You improve the Morals of your People, and must live with more Satisfaction and Security among such Men, than among an unhappy Generation, whose Necessities compel them to become Thieves and Beggars. Let us consider the Multitudes that would be employed in these Manufactures: And if the Goods should not be altogether so fine as the Linnen, Lace, and Silk of *France* or the *Low-Countries* at first, they will probably prove as well wrought as theirs in Time, if suitable Encouragements are given to those that excel; but if they should be something coarser, why should we not imitate *France* and other King,

272 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

Kingdoms, who are content to wear coarse Woollen-cloth, rather than to impoverish their Countries by importing our fine Cloths. Is it of as much Importance to the Kingdom, that our Ladies should appear in foreign Linnen, Lace, and Silks, as that the People by being employ'd in these Manufactures at home, should be kept from starving, and two or three Millions of Money annually saved to the Nation?

Let us consider also, that the Riches of the Plantations are our Riches, their Forces our Forces, and their Shipping our Shipping; as these prosper, so will their Mother Country prosper of course; hither all their Wealth flows in the End. They either bring their Estates over to *England*, if they meet Success, or they live in an elegant Manner there and import our Manufactures. We should need scarce any other foreign Trade; therefore we should want nothing that other Countries produce, if the Plantations were encouraged; for the Materials they might raise would abundantly employ all our idle Hands, and furnish us with every thing that contributes to the Support or Conveniencies of Life. Can we then do too much for our Colonies, when in supporting them we most effectually serve ourselves? Let us not be afraid of lessening the Revenues by prohibiting foreign Manufactures

factures, if it tends to enrich the Nation; for the richer the People are, the better able will they be to support the Government; and the Legislature can never be at a loss for Ways and Means to raise Money, if the People have it in their Purses.

But let us ever be cautious of laying high Duties on our own Produce and Manufactures, whether at home or in our Colonies; for this has totally destroyed some Branches of Trade, and prevents others from flourishing: By this we find the People of *Jamaica* were entirely beat out of the Cocoa or Chocolate, other Nations being able to afford it cheaper than they could on account of the Duties: By the like Conduct it is apprehended the Sugar and Tobacco Trade may be lost, the Duties of which are so considerable a Branch of the Revenue. And were it not better to take a small Duty, than to lose all the Duties and the Trade together? And here at Home, is it not the Duty on Paper made here that damps the Progress of that Manufacture, and still obliges us to import most of our Paper from abroad? And, indeed, we may ruin all our Trade, and all our Manufactures by high Duties; and when that is done, how is the Government to be supported? How shall we find Money to purchase even Necessaries of Foreigners? And how shall



shall we maintain those Multitudes of Poor, that a Failure in our Manufactures and Plantation Trade must occasion? But next to high Duties, nothing surely can be a greater Disadvantage to our Manufactures or Plantation Trade, than the locking up our Money in Banks or Funds, which, 'till these were established, were employ'd in Commerce. The Man who lives purely on the Interest of his Money on these Banks, is the most contemptible and useless Creature of the *Common-wealth*: Instead of increasing his own and the common Stock, he chuses a slothful indolent way of Life; he takes no Pains to serve himself, his Friends or his Country; but like a certain Animal he resembles, is only useful when he dies, and his Substance is transferred to Persons of a more Publick Spirit.

As to such Gentlemen and Ladies as have small Fortunes in the Publick Funds, these might by employing them in our Manufactures at home, or in our Plantations abroad, make a better Figure in the World than they can by the Interest of their Money. What will five hundred or thousand Pounds produce in the Funds? an ordinary Porter or Cobler gets more by his Labour; but such Sums employ'd in any Manufacture at home, or a Plantation abroad, would produce a handsome Subsistence. It were

Pity

Pity therefore, even for the Sake of these: whose Condition has been so much lamented of, but Interest were still lower, that they might be compelled to take their Fortunes out of the Funds, and employ them more to the Advantage of themselves and their Country.

And as to Gentlemen who have but small Estates, or such as are encumber'd, were they duly apprized that with the Money arising by the Sale of one hundred Pounds *per Ann.* they might purchase a Plantation which would yield three hundred Pounds in *British America*; or that, by applying Part of the Money they take upon their Estates in the Improvement of a Plantation, they might in a short Time clear off their Debts, and live in Plenty, they would never drag about a miserable Being in Necessity and Disgrace at home, but venture a little abroad and improve their Estates; after which they might return, make a Figure in the Decline of Life, and leave ample Fortunes to their Posterity.

I am not here inviting Gentlemen to run the Hazards, or to undergo the Fatigues that usually attend new Discoveries; there is more Land discovered already than we can possibly cultivate; nor would I advise them to settle upon the Frontiers of our Colonies that are liable to the Inva-

sions

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276 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

sions of the *French* and *Spaniards*, or the *Indians*: This is a Post assigned to the necessitous and hardy *Highlanders* and *Swiss*, who richly deserve the Lands assign'd them, for securing the rest of the Provinces: But let a Gentleman go over, and take a View of *New England*, *New York*, the *Ferseys*, *Pennsylvania*, *Virginia*, or *Carolina*, and he will in any of them meet with fruitful Farms ready planted to his Hand, by the Purchase of which he may double and treble his Fortune with a very little Application; and when he has settled them to his Mind, may return to *England* again if he sees fit, and have the Produce of them sent hither. This many have done, and continue to do to this Day, and it is surprizing more do not follow their Example.

Among the Ancients, the greatest Men travelled and run many Hazards for the Improvement of Arts and Sciences, of Husbandry and Traffick; and whoever brought home any Thing of this kind was looked upon as a good Angel, and in Ages ter-ages worshipped as a God. And were our Gentlemen and Men of Quality, when they travel, as usefully employ'd, we, no doubt, should have them equally in Esteem. But what do these honourable Wanderers usually import, but foreign Fashions, foreign Fopperies, and foreign Vices?

Would

Would they discover the Arts that have rendered the *Dutch*, and of late the *French*, such exquisite Merchants and Planters; would they, as Sir *Thomas Lombe* has done to his immortal Honour, bring home the Model of some useful Engine, teach us to plant the Vine, to raise Silk and Flax, to improve our Sugar and Tobacco Colonies, to manage our Fisheries with Success, and particularly the Whale Fishery, in which the Colonies of *New-England* and *New-York* have of late made some Progress: Were these the Views of our Nobility and Gentry in their Travels, they would deserve the Honours and Estates they enjoy, and could not fail If acquiring still greater; their own Families would enjoy the Fruits of their glorious Labours, and they would esteemed by all Mankind real Benefactors to their Country.

Through this Neglect of our *British* Colonies in *America*, it has been, 'tis hop'd, sufficiently prov'd, throughout the whole Course of this Treatise, that the *Spaniards* not only endeavour to protect themselves in their pretended Right to these remote Parts, but likewise from Time to Time, by obstructing our Traffick thereto, and disturbing and continually perplexing our Settlements there, gain great Advantages to themselves



278 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

themselves, to the inconceivable Loss and Detriment of the *English* Nation; and to which we may justly add, (with Reproach to ourselves) their manifold Hostilities, in seizing our Ships, plundering and pillaging their Cargoes, and imprisoning the Persons of their Crews, and most inhumanly treating both them and their Commanders.

But never surely was the *English* Nation better pleas'd than with the welcome Advice of the taking of *Porto Bello* by the Fleet of six Ships of War only, under the Command of Vice-Admiral VERNON; and as this glorious Action ought to, and, 'tis hoped, will be commemorated by future Ages, we shall therefore give the Reader the genuine Account thereof, as it was transmitted to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, in the Year 1739, which is as follows:

ON the 5th of November last, Vice-Admiral *Vernon* sailed from *Jamaica* with his Majesty's Ship the *Burford*, *Hampton Court*, *Princess Louisa*, *Worcester*, *Stratford*, *Norwich*, and *Sheerness*, the last of which he order'd to cruise off *Carthagena*.

On the 20th of November, in the Evening, he came in Sight of *Porto-Bello*, having been delay'd by contrary Winds. There being

being but little Wind found that Evening, though a very great Swell, he anchored for that Night six Leagues off the Shore, being apprehensive of their driving to the East Harbour.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> in the Morning, the Admiral plied to Windward in Line of Battle, having given the proper Orders for the Attack; but the Wind proving Easterly, he was oblig'd to confine the Attack to the Iron Fort only; close to which the Squadron was piloted by Captain *Rentone*.

Commodore *Brown*, in the *Hampton Court*, who led the Attack, executed his Part, as became an Officer of Experience and Resolution; and being well follow'd by Captain *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, and Captain *Mayne* in the *Worcester*, the Admiral perceived that some of the *Spaniards* fled from several Parts of the Fort; upon which he made a Signal for the Boats in which the Soldiers were to make the best of their Way, in order to their Landing, whilst he was coming up to the Fort to batter it. The Admiral lusting up as near to the Fort as he could, the Fire of his Small Arms commanded the Enemy's lower Batteries, and had a good Effect in driving them from those Batteries from which they could do most harm; and by this means the Men were also secured at Landing: And this (as the Enemy afterwards

280 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

afterwards confessed) was the principal Occasion of their deserting the lower Batteries, the Small-shot from the former Ships not having reach'd them, tho' their Cannon had beat down some of the upper Part of the Fort, where they held up a White Signal for capitulating. The Admiral answered with a White Flag; but it was some Time before he could stop his own Men, and those on board the *Strafford*, Captain *Trevor*, which follow'd him, from firing.

In the mean time, the Seamen had opportunely climb'd up the Walls of the lower Battery, and struck the Colours, and then drew up the Soldiers after them, to whom the *Spaniards*, who had retired to the upper Part of the Fort, soon after surrendr'd at Discretion. Their Number was only five Officers and 35 Men, out of above 300, the rest being either kill'd or wounded, or having made their Escape.

The Ships that went in before the Admiral were fallen to Leeward, so as to be out of Sight of the *Gloria* Castle: but the Admiral's Ship lying open to the said Castle, they kept firing one of their longest Guns at him till Night; but not being within Point-blank, their Shot either fell short, or went over him; only one Shot went through the Head of his Foretop-mast, just above the Riggings, so that it did no Harm. The

The Admiral finding they continued their Firing, tried some of his lower Tier at them; which being new Guns, answered beyond Expectation, carried over the *Gloria* Castle into the Town, none of the Shot falling short, and one of them going through the Governor's House, and some through other Houses in the Town,

This successful Beginning was attended by a very inconsiderable Loss, there being only three Men kill'd, and five wounded on board the Admiral's Ship; the like Number on board the *Worcester*; and one Man had his Leg shot off on board the *Hampton-Court*. The other Ships had none kill'd or wounded, and only two Soldiers were shot going ashore, one of which soon died after of his Wounds.

The next Morning, being the 22d, the Admiral went on board Commodore *Brown*, to call the Captains to consult together, and give out the necessary Orders for wrapping the Ships up the next Night, in order to attack the *Gloria* Castle the Night following, as it would not have been practicable to attempt it in the Day time, but in this he was prevented by the Enemy's putting up a White Flag at the *Gloria* Castle, and sending a Boat with a Flag of Truce to the Admiral, with the Governor's Adjutant, and a Lieutenant of a Man of War,

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who



who brought in the Conditions signed, on which they desired to Capitulate. In Answer, to which the Admiral immediately drew up the Terms on which he would admit them no Capitulation, and dispatch'd them back again, allowing them a few Hours to take their Resolution; and within the Time limited they accepted the Conditions offered them. And before Night, on *Thursday* the said 22d of November, the Admiral sent Captain *Newton*, who commanded the Detachment of Soldiers from *Jamaica*, with about 120 of the said Soldiers, who took immediate Possession of *Gloria* Castle and *St. Jeronimo* Fort, being the remaining Fortresses that guarded the Harbour of *Porto Bello*, the *Gloria* Castle lying just below the Town, and *Jeronimo* Fort just above it.

#### ARTICLES of Capitulation granted by

EDWARD VERNON, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the *Blue*, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the *West-Indies*. and Commodore BROWN, to DON FRANCISCO MARTINES DE RETEZ, Governor of *Porto Bello*, and DON FRANCISCO DE ABAROA, Commandant of the *Guarda Costa's* at the same Place, the 22d of November, 1739.

Article

Article I. *That the Garrison be allowed to march out as desired, upon Condition the King of Great Britain's Troops be put into Possession of the Gloria Castle by four of the Clock this Evening, and the Garrison to march out by Ten of the Clock to-morrow Morning.*

*That the Inhabitants may either remove, or remain, under a Promise of Security for themselves and their Effects.*

II. *That the Spanish Soldiers may have a Guard, if they think it necessary.*

III. *That they may carry off two Cannon mounted, with ten Charges of Powder for each, and their Match lighted.*

IV. *The Gates of the Gloria Castle must absolutely be in the Possession of the King our Master's Troops, by four of the Clock, and the Spanish Garrison shall remain in Safety for their Persons and Effects, till the time appointed for their marching out, and to carry with them the Provisions and Ammunition necessary for their Safety.*

V. *That the Ships with their Apparel and Arms be absolutely delivered up to the Use of his Britannick Majesty, but that all the Officers, Soldiers, and Crew, shall have Three Days allowed them to retire with all their Personal Effects: only one Officer being admitted on board each Ship and Vessel,*

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284 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
to take Possession for the King our Master,  
and to see this Article strictly comply'd  
with.

VI. That provided the Articles above-  
mentioned are strictly complied with, and  
that Possession be given of Castle St. Jero-  
nimo, in the same manner as is stipulated  
for the Castle Gloria, then the Clergy, the  
Churches and Town shall be protected and  
preserved in all their Immunities and Pro-  
perties,

*And that all Prisoners already taken be  
set at Liberty before our leaving the Port.*

Given under our Hands on Board his  
Majesty's Ship *Burford* in *Porto Bello*  
Harbour, this 22<sup>d</sup> Day of November,  
1739, O. S.

E. VERNON.

CHA. BROWN.

There were in the Harbour two *Spanish*  
Men of War, of 20 Guns each, and a  
Snow; the Crews of which Ships seeing the  
regular and bold Attack which was made  
on the Iron Fort, and despairing of being  
able to defend themselves, fell to plun-  
dering the Town in the Night of the 21<sup>st</sup>,  
and committed great Outrages on the In-  
habitants.

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The Admiral took on board his Ship from the several Fortresses, 40 Pieces of Brass Cannon, 10 Brass Field Pieces, 4 Brass Mortars, and 18 Brass Pattereors; and render'd unserviceable above 80 Iron Cannon, knocking off the Trunnions, and spiking them up: He also took on board all their Shot and Ammunition, except 122 Barrels of their Powder, which he expended in springing Mines, by which all the Fortifications of the Forts were blown up and entirely demolished, and the Harbour left open and defenceless.

Ten Thousand Dollars that were arriv'd and design'd for paying the King of Spain's Troops at *Porto Bello*, falling into the Admiral's Hands, he distributed them amongst his Majesty's Forces for their Encouragement.

*The following is a short History of New Spain; and may serve to give our Readers a just Idea of that wealthy Country.*

In the Reign of Ferdinand, King of *Castille* and *Aragon*, *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoese*, discover'd this Part of the World in the Year 1492. As the *Spaniards* were the first that found out this fortunate Country, unknown to the *Europeans*, so King.



286 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Isabel* had the Propriety of it by a Bull from Pope *Alexander VI.* He establish'd them and their Successors *perpetual Vicars* of the Holy See over this vast Country; so that the Kings of *Spain* are *spiritual* and *temporal Lords*, and nominate Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks, and receive Tenths of them. Their Power here is of larger Extent than in *Spain*, for you must know that *America* alone is one of the four Parts of the World, and that we possess more Land there than all other Nations together besides. The Council of the *Indies*, which is established at *Madrid*, is one of the most considerable of the Kingdom; and there being great necessity of holding a very frequent Correspondence between *Spain* and the *Indies*, to send Orders to maintain the Court Authority, they were obliged to establish besides a particular Chamber, which is composed of the eldest Counsellors of the Council of the *Indies*; and they are to take cognizance of all things concerning the Revenues, and cause Expeditions by the Secretaries of the Council.

Besides the Chamber at *Madrid*, there is another at *Seville*, call'd the House of *Consultation*; it is composed of several Counsellors, both of the *Robe* and the *Sword*, with other necessary Officers; those of the

*Sword*

*Sword* take Cognizance of Things which concern the *Fleet* and the *Galeons*; the other Counsellors take Care of Matters of Justice. Appeals from this Tribunal are made to the Council of the *Indies* at *Madrid*. There are Registers kept in the House of *Contratacion* at *Seville*, in which are writ all the Merchandize that is sent to the *Indies*, and all that comes from thence, that so the *King* may not be cheated of his Customs; but this signifies little; the Merchants are so cunning, and those who keep the Accounts are so easily drawn to share with them, that the King is not a whit the better for them; and the Duty to him, which is only the fifth Part of what is due to him.

It is the Council of *Madrid* which proposes Subjects to the King to fill up the *Viceroyalties* of *New Spain* and *Peru*; they are granted for five Years, and so are all other Places.

The *Flota* consists of divers Vessels laden with rich Merchandizes, which are sent to the *Indies*, and there are other great Ships of War, which are called *Galeons*, which the King sends to convoy them. These Men of War ought not to carry any Merchants Goods; but the Lucre of Gain tempts them against the express Prohibition of the King; and sometimes they are  
so

## 288 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

so full laden, that if they should happen to be attacked, they could not defend themselves. When these Vessels are ready to sail, the Dispatches which the Merchants obtain from the Council of the *Indies* at *Madrid* for Leave to send them, cost, for each of them, from five to six thousand Crowns, according to the bigness of the Vessel. It is easy to imagine, that since they gave so much, they are sure of getting a great deal more.

The *Galeons* go no further than *Porto Velo*, whether they bring all the Silver of *Peru*. The *Flota* leaves them at this Place, and continues its Voyage to *New Spain*. The *Galeons* sail from *Sanlucar* to *Cartagena* in six Weeks, or two Months at farthest; they tarry there a little while, and in five or six Days they come back to *Porto Velo*. It is a Town situated on the Coast of *America*. The Air there is very unwholsome, and the Weather excessively hot. On the other side of the *Isthmus*, some ten Leagues distance only, is the City of *Panama*; whether is brought from *Peru* a vast Quantity of Silver in Bars or Wedges, and divers Merchandizes, which are conveyed by Land Carriages to *Porto Velo*, where the *Galeons* are, and where there is kept one of the greatest Fairs in the World; for in less than forty or fifty Days there is sold  
of

of all Sorts of *European* Goods to the Value at least of twenty Millions of Crowns ready Money. After the Fair is done, the Galeons return to *Carthagena*; at which Place there is a considerable Trade for the *Indian* Goods, and those of the Kingdom of *St. Foy*, as well as from those of *Porigebta*. After this they go to the *Havannah*, to take in necessary Provisions for this Voyage, and from thence they are commonly two Months sailing to *Cadiz*. But as to the Flota, it stops at *Porto Rico* to refresh, and arrives at *Vera Cruz* in five Weeks. There they unload their Merchandizes, which are afterwards carried by Land fourscore Leagues beyond, to the great City of *Mexico*; the Sale of them is quickly over, and the Flota parts afterwards to go to the *Havannah*. But this must be passed only in the Month of *April* or *September*, because of the North Winds. The Galeons are commonly nine Months in their Voyage to *Peru*, and the Flota is thirteen or fourteen Months. Some particular Persons go thither also at their own Charge, after they have register'd themselves at the Contractation at *Seville*. These go to the Coast of *St. Domingo*, *Honduras*, *Caraccas* and *Buenos Ayres*.

The Money, which comes directly to the King from the *Indies*, must be brought

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290 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

in one Galeon. This Silver is delivered to one of the Masters of the Mint, who pays to the King every Voyage he makes six thousand Crowns; and he keeps one *per Cent.* of all the Silver that goes through his Hands. which arises high. As to the Silver which belongs to particular Persons, that is brought in what Vessels they will chuse; and it is the Captain that is responsible for it.

Within these few Years there are discovered, seventy Leagues from *Lima*, some Mines which yield a vast Revenue. Those of *Peru*, and all the others in the *West-Indies*, pay the King the fifth Part, as well of the Gold as the Silver and Emeralds. There is at *Potosi* greater Plenty of Mines than any where else; the Silver they get there is brought to *Port de Arica*, and from thence it is sent to *Callao*; it is one of the Ports of *Lima*, whether the Galeons come to fetch it. The Kingdom of *Peru* yields every Year in Gold and Silver to the Value of Eleven Millions of Crowns.

There is a certain Duty which is called *Avarie*, and it is taken for all Goods registered, and for all the Silver which is brought from the *Indies*; this Duty is so considerable, that it suffices to fit out the Galeons and the Flota for their Voyage, altho' the Charge amounts to nine Millions of

of Crowns; but that of the *Flota* is not so great.

He that the King chuses to be General of the Galeons, advances to him fourscore or a hundred thousand Crowns, which is repaid him in the *Indies*, with great interest. Every Captain does also advance Money to the King, proportionably to the Bigness of the Vessel they command. There goes moreover with the Galeons a *Pataca*, which leaves them in the Gulf *les Taquas*; she goes to the Isles of *Margarita* to fish for Pearls, of which they pay to the King a fifth Part; that is of all the Pearls that they take; and afterwards she comes to *Carthagena*.

It was a long while before he would suffer in *New Spain* any Workmen that wrought in Silk or Wool; there are some now, and this may do some Hurt to the Trade of Stuffs, which are sent from *Europe*. They are not allowed to plant any *Olive-Trees*, or *Vines*, that so the Oil and Wine, which is carry'd thither, may sell the better, The King in the *Indies*, as well as in *Spain*, may sell the *Bull* of the *Crusado*, which is a License to eat Flesh every *Saturday*, and to enjoy the Benefit of *Indulgences*.

The *Indian* Idolaters are not subject to the Inquisition in the *Indies*, that is esta-

blished only against *Hereticks* and *Jews*. No Strangers are suffered to go to the *Indies*; but if at any time happen to go, there must be a special Permission obtain'd, which is very rarely granted.

It's a Task impossible to express the Beautifulnes of the City of *Mexico*, the Churches, the Palaces, the publick Places, the Riches, the Profusion, the Magnificence, and the Pleasures! A City that is so happily situated, that in all Seasons it enjoys a continual Spring; and where the Heats are not at all excessive, where they feel not the Severity of the Winter. And the Country is no less charming, the Flowers and Fruits at all Times loading the Trees. There you gather more than one Crop in the Year. The Lakes and Ponds are full of Fish. The Grounds are well stocked with Cattle, the Forests and Woods afford excellent Fowl, and wild Beasts. The Earth seems to open her Bowels on purpose to give up the Gold she encloses. There Mines or Rocks of precious Stones are discover'd, and Pearls are there taken.

As the Description of this Country charms, how pleasant must it be to every generous *Briton*, to see that the Success of his Majesty's Forces has given us a Footing there; and in all likelihood we shall soon

soon convince the haughty *Spaniard* that he is not to lord it over the *American* Part of the World as he has done, nor to interrupt the Navigation and Traffick of our worthy Merchants; or use such Cruelties to our brave Mariners, as even the most unpolish'd Part of the Globe would blush at.

The glorious and heroick Actions of the noble EDWARD VERNON, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, has given such universal Joy to these Kingdoms, that we should be much wanting in our respect to that Gentleman, should we not make publick from time to time his Successes against our Enemies the *Spaniards*. The great Valour and Conduct of this brave General cannot be enough applauded, and it is apparent from the universal Satisfaction the Nation in general has shewn, that no Officer, either by Sea or Land, that was ever commissioned to serve his Country, has more worthily discharged themselves than the brave VERNON. This valiant Gentleman, descended of an ancient Family, is possess'd of a very plentiful Estate, a great Part of which is in the County of *Suffolk*. He was made a Captain in the Royal Navy of *England* in the Reign of King *William the Third*, and did many Exploits in the Reign of



294 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
of that Monarch; but upon some Disgust  
or other, Mr. *Vernon* gave up his Commis-  
sion a good many Years since, and has li-  
ved a retired Life. He was chose Mem-  
ber of Parliament, and in the House of  
Commons discharged his Trust like a *True*  
*Briton*; for in a Speech in the Honoura-  
ble House of Commons, not long before  
the War broke out with *Spain*, on its be-  
ing said that *Porto Bello* was a Place so  
situated and so very strong, that it was im-  
pregnable, declared he could take it with  
Six Men of War only; and indeed so good  
an Opinion did his Majesty and the Mini-  
stry entertain of Mr. VERNON, that he  
was made choice of for this Expedition.

Adding to the Success he had in this  
Enterprise, we shall proceed to relate ano-  
ther of later Date, which was that of his  
taking the Castle and Fort of *Chagre*, the  
Key to the very Heart of the *West Indies*,  
which, as it has been so well attested from  
all the Publick Prints, is, as taken from  
the *London Gazette*, as follows:

*Whitehall, June 20, 1740.*

**T**HIS Day Mr. *Thorpe*, Purser of his  
Majesty's Ship the *Strafford*, arrived  
here with Letters from Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, dated *Porto Bello, April 5*, to his  
Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, one of his  
Majesty's

Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, with the following Account, viz.

That on the 25th of February last, he failed from *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica* with a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships, and having a favourable Wind, got Sight of the High Land of *St. Martha* on the *Spanish* Main the 1st of *March* last: That he ordered Capt. *Windham* in the *Greeneich* to ply up in the Night, and lie to Windward of the Port, for the intercepting any thing that might be coming in there the next Day; and himself bore away with an easy Sail for *Caathagena*: That the 3d at Noon he was join'd by the *Falmouth*, Capt. *Douglas*, off *Point Canoa*, and that Evening anchored with the Squadron before *Carthagena* in nine Fathom Water, in the open Bay call'd *Alaya Grande*, and on the 6th he order'd in all the Bomb-ketches, and the small Ships and Tenders for covering and assisting them, and continued bombarding till Nine in the Morning: That the Squadron received no Damage from the Town, but the Shells fell into the Town pretty successfully, particularly into the principal Church, the Jesuit's College, the Custom-House, and beat down several Houses between them, and a Shell that fell into the South Bastion silenced a Battery of 10 Guns there for a long Time. That he drew off his

296 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,  
his Bomb-Ketches and small Craft on the  
9th, and weigh'd with his Squadron on the  
10th in the Morning, and making the Sig-  
nal for the Line of Battle, he coasted the  
Shore towards *Boca Chica*; that they fired  
at him from the three small Castles with-  
out *Boca Chica*, but none of their Shot  
reached him: And that having left the  
*Windſor*. Capt. *Berkeley*, and the *Green-  
wich*, Capt. *Windham*, to cruize off the  
Port of *Carthagena* for twenty Days, he  
made Sail for *Porto Bello*, to repair there  
the Damages the small Craft had received,  
and on the 14th anchored with his Squa-  
dron in *Porto Bello* Harbour, detach'd his  
Cruizers from time to time to lie off *Cha-  
gre* to block up the Enemy; and having  
got his Ships water'd, put to Sea on the  
22d with his Squadron, except the *Loui-  
ſa* and *Falmouth*, which had not com-  
pleated their Watering, but had his Or-  
ders to haſten it and follow him; but an  
Accident in the Fore-top-fail Yard of his  
Ship the *Strafford*, retarding her Progreſs,  
he order'd Capt. *Herbert* in the *Norwich*  
to make all the Sail he could in before him  
with the Bomb-ketches, and all the Fire-  
ſhips and Tenders under his Orders, and  
Capt. *Knowles*, as Engineer on Board the  
Bomb-ketches for placing them to play on  
the Caſtle, and to corner them with his  
own

own Ship and the rest: That Captain *Knowles* got to an Anchor by Three in the Afternoon, and began bombarding and cannonading that Evening, and by Ten at Night he got also to an Anchor with his own Ship the *Strafford*, and the *Falmouth* and Princess *Louisa* that followed him the same Night; and continued bombarding and cannonading with three Ships firing leisurely only from their lower Tier till Eleven a-Clock on *Monday* the 24th, when the *Spaniards* hung out a Flag of Truce from the Fort, and he answered it from his own Ship, and stopp'd all Firing as soon as possible, and sent Capt. *Knowles* on-shore, who soon returned with the Governor; to whom, having granted the Capitulation hereto subjoined, he sent him on Shore with Capt. *Knowles*, whom he appointed Governor of the Castle for his Majesty, and sent a Garrison along with him of five Lieutenants and 120 Men, and all the Boats of the Fleet to land them, and by Three of the Clock that Afternoon, Capt. *Knowles* enter'd the Fort with his Garrison. The same Evening Capt. *Knowles* sent and placed a Guard upon the Custom-House on the opposite Side of the River *Chagre*, and Vice-Admiral *VERNON* went on Shore himself by Day-break the next Morning to give all necessary Orders, and



found the Custom-House full of Goods for the Lading of the Galleons, such as Guayaquil Cocoa, Jesuits Bark, and *Spanish* Wool; and gave immediate Orders for their being speedily shipp'd off. The Number of Serons and Bags of the said mentioned Goods amounted to 4300. That the two *Guarda Costa* Sloops in the River (which were all the *Guarda Costa's* that were left in those Parts) were sunk just above the Custom-House, Carpenters having been order'd to break up the Deck and entirely destroy them. The Custom-House being entirely clear'd by *Friday* the 28th, was fill'd with combustible Matter of the neighbouring Huts, and set on Fire that Evening, and it burnt with great Fierceness all that Night. On the 29th-in the Morning, the brass Cannon being embarked, which were eleven Guns and eleven Patereroes, and a good Part of the Garrison, the Mines were sprung under the lower Bastion which entirely demolish'd it. Then two Mines were sprung to blow up some of the upper Parts of the Works, and afterwards all the inner Buildings of the Castle were set on Fire, and were burning all the Night on the 29th. On the 30th Vice-Admiral VERNON put to Sea, and his Squadron, and on the 1st of *April* in the Evening got to the Mouth of the Harbour

Harbour of *Porto Bello*, and was joined there by the *Winsor* and *Greenwich* just returned from their Cruise off *Carthagena*; and on the 2d was joined also by the *Burford*, which he had left at *Jamaica* to be repair'd.

ARTICLES of Capitulation granted by EDWARD VERNON, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the *Bluc*, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the *West-Indies*, to DON JUAN CARLOS GUTIEREZ DE ZAUOLLOS, Captain of Foot, and Castillano of the Castle of *St. Lorenzo*, at the Mouth of the River *Chagre*.

Article I. That upon his Britannick Majesty's Troops being put into the immediate Possession of the Fort *St. Lorenzo*, at the Mouth of the River *Chagre*, the said *Castillano*, and his Garrison, be at free Liberty to march out without any Molestation, and may retire into the Village of *Chagre*, or where else they please.

II. That the Inhabitants of *Chagre* may remain in all Safety in their own Houses, under a Promise of Security to their Persons and Houses.

III. That the *Guarda Costa Sloops* be deliver'd up to the Use of his Britannick Ma-

300 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*jesty in the Condition they are, and the King of Spain's Custom-House.*

IV. *That the Clergy and Churches in the Town of Chagre shall be protected and preserved in all their Immunities.*

Given under my Hand on Board his  
*Britannick Majesty's Ship the Strاتفرد, at Anchor before the River Chagre, this 24th of March, 1739.*

E. VERNON.

Mr. Thomas, who brought this Account, left Vice-Admiral VERNON on the 25th of April, under the Grand Baru, in his Return to *Jamaica*; of which rich, flourishing, and trading Island, as followeth:

This Island was call'd *Jamaica* by the Natives when *Columbus* first discover'd it, and he changed the Name to *St. Jago*; but it soon recover'd its Primitive Name, by which it is called at this Day.

It is situated in the *Atlantic Ocean*, between 17 and 18 Degrees odd Minutes North Latitude, and between 76 and 79 Degrees of Western Longitude. It lies near 5000 Miles South West of *England*, about 20 Leagues East of *Hispaniola*, and as many South of *Cuba*, and upwards of 150 Leagues to the Northward of *Porto Bello* and *Carthagena*, on the Coast of *Terra Firma*. This

\*This Island stretches from East to West, being 140 Miles in Length, and about 60 in Breadth in the Middle; but growing less towards each End, the Form is pretty near oval.

The whole Island has one continued Ridge of Hills running from East to West through the middle of it, which are generally called the *Blue Mountains*. The Tops of some are higher than others; one of the highest is called the *Mont Diablo*. Other Hills there are on each Side of the Ridge of Mountains, which are much lower.

The outward Face of the Earth seems to be different here, (says Sir *Hans Sloane*) from what I could observe in *Europe*; the Vallies in this Island being very level, with little or no rising Ground or small Hills, and without Rocks or Stones. The mountainous Part for the most Part is very steep, and furrow'd by very deep Gul- lies on the North and South Sides of the highest Hills. The Gullies are made here by frequent and very violent Rains, which every Day almost fall on these Mountains, and first making a small Trough or Course for themselves, wash away afterwards what- ever comes in their Way, and make their Channels extraordinary steep.

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The greatest Part of the high Land of this Island is either of Stone or Clay; these Sorts of Soil resist the Rains, and so are not carried down violently with them into the Plains, as are the Mould proper for Tillage, and other more friable Earths; hence it is, that in these mountainous Places one shall have very little or none of such Earths, but either a tenacious Clay, or a Honeycomb, or other Rock, on which no Earth appears.

All the high Land is cover'd with Wood, some of the Trees very good Timber, tall and straight; and one would wonder, says my Author, how such Trees could grow in such a barren Soil, so thick together among the Rocks: But the Trees send down their fibrous Roots into the Crannies of the Rocks, where here and there they meet with little Receptacles, or natural Basins, of Rain-water, which nourish the Roots.

'Tis a very strange Thing (says the same Writer) to see in how short a Time a Plantation cleared of Trees and Shrubs, will grow foul, which comes from two Causes; the one, the not stubbing up the Roots, whence arise young Sprouts; and the other, the Fertility of the Soil. The Settlements and Plantations, not only of the *Indians* but the *Spaniards*, being quite over-grown with tall Trees; so that there would

would be no Foot-steps of them left, were it not for old Pallisadoes, Buildings, Orange Walls, &c. which shew plainly Plantations have been there.

There are the same Strata or Layers of Earth one over another, in the fruitful Part of the Island, as are not be met with in *Europe*. And the same Difference of Soil appears here as does in *England*, on digging of Wells, &c.

Most of the *Savannas*, or Plains fit for Pasture, and cleared of the Wood like our Meadow Land, lie on the South Side of the Island, where one may ride a great many Miles without meeting the least Ascent: Some of these Plains are within Land encircled with Hills.

These *Savannas*, After Seasons, *i. e.* Rain, are very green and pleasant; but after long Droughts, are much parch'd and wither'd.

The Tides here are scarce discernable, there being very little Increase or Decrease of the Water, and that depending mostly, if not altogether, on the Winds; so that the Land Winds driving the Water off the Island, makes a Foot, two or more, Ebb, which is most apparent in the Morning. In the Harbour of *Port-Royal* one may see the *Coral Rocks*, then sensibly nearer the Surface of the Water; and all along the Sea-shore the Water is gone for a small

small Space, leaving it dry; and this much more on the South Side of the Island, when the Norths blow. On the contrary, the Sea-breeze driving the Water on the other Shore of the Island, makes the Flood; so that in the Evening it may be said to be High-Water, especially if a South or other Wind blows violently into the Land some time together, with which the Water comes in, and is much higher than ordinary. The Breezes being stronger or weaker, according to the Moon's Age, it may be thought the Tides or Currents may follow that; but I rather believe, *they only are the Effect of the Winds* (says Sir Hans Sloane).

The chief Ports in this Island are, 1. *Port-Royal*, a fine capacious Harbour, which will be described hereafter, with the Town from which it received its Name. 2. *Old Harbour*, which lies seven or eight Miles South West of *St. Jago*. 3. *Port-Morant*, at the East End of the Island: And 4. *Point Negril*, at the West End of the Island. Besides which, there are several more on the South and North Sides of the Island; but it is dangerous approaching the Coast without a Pilot, on account of the *Coral-Rocks* which almost surround it.

Sir *Hans Sloane* mentions near an hundred Rivers in *Jamaica*, but none of them navigable

navigable; for rising in the Mountains in the middle of the Island, they precipitate themselves down the Rocks to the North or South, falling into the Sea before they have run many Miles, and carrying down with them frequently great Stones, Pieces of Rock, and Timber.

In speaking of these Waters, the Doctor in another Place says, Fresh Water is very scarce in dry *Savannas* distant from Rivers, so that many of their Cattle die with drinking to Water. Near the Sea, the Well-water, as at *Port-Royal*, is brackish. This brackish Water, which is very common in Walls on Sea-shores, is not wholesome, but the Cause of Fluxes and other Diseases in Sailors drinking of it.

Their River Water, because of its great Descent and Precipices, carries with it much Clay or Earth, whereby it is muddy and thick, and has an odd Taste; which in *St. Jago*, or the Town River, gave occasion to the *Spaniards* to call it *Rio Cobre*, and the *English* to say, 'tis not wholesome and tastes of Copper; whereas on Trial of the Sand and other Sediments, there is no Metal found therein. This River Water if suffer'd to settle some Days in earthen Jars is good.

Spring Water, at a Distance from the Sea, is prefer'd to River or Pond Water:

No. 20.

Qq

There



There are some Springs, as well as Rivers, which petrify their Channels, and stop their own Course by a Cement uniting the Gravel and Sand in their Bottoms.

There is a Hot Bath or Spring near *Port-Morant*, in the East Part of the Island, situated in a Wood, which has been bathed in and drank of late Years for the Belly-ach, the common Disease of the Country, with great Success.

A great many Salt Springs arise in a level Ground under the Hills in *Cabbage-tree Bottom*, about a Mile or two distant from the Sea, which united make what is called the *Salt River*.

Salt is made here in Ponds, whereinto the Sea or Salt-water comes, and by the Heat of the Sun the Moisture being exhausted, leaves the Salt, which is in great Plenty at the Salt Ponds about *Old Harbour*, &c. The Salt is not perfectly white, nor in small Grains, but in large Lumps, and has an Eye of red in it, as some *Sal Gemme* I have seen come from *Spain*, or what comes from the Island of *Salt Tartuga*, near the Main of *America*, which is here reckoned the stronger and better Salt.

*Lagunas*, or great Ponds, there are many here, one whereof, *Rio Hoa* Pond, receives a great deal of Water by a River which yet has no visible Rivulet or Discharge from it. *Some*

Some Rivers in the Mountains rise above and go under Ground again in a great many Places; *Rio d'Oro* particularly falls under and rises above Ground three or four times; and so it is in many Places.

At *Abraham's* Plantation, on the North Side, is a River which has stopp'd its own Course by letting a Settlement fall and pe- trifying its own Bottom.

It is ordinary to have Cataracts or Cascades, in Rivers among the Mountains, fifty or sixty Foot high.

This Island being several Degrees within the Tropic, has the Trade-Wind continually there, which is on the South Side of the Island called the *Sea Breeze*. This comes about Eight o'Clock in the Morning, and increaseth or freshens 'till Twelve in the Day, and then as the Sun grows lower, so it decreaseth 'till Four in the Evening. About Eight in the Evening begins the *Land Breeze*, blowing near four Leagues into the Sea, and continues increasing till Twelve at Night, and decreaseth again till Four, when there is no more of it. This Course generally holds true. The *Sea Breeze* now and then is more violent than at other Times, as at New or Full Moon, and encroaches very much on the Land Winds and the Norths when they reign, viz. in the Months of *December*,

*Q* 9 2 *January*,

308 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*January*, and *February*, blow over the Ridge of Mountains with Violence and hinder the *Sea Breeze*, which blows stronger and longer near the Sea, as at *Port-Royal* or *Passage-Port*, than it does within Land, as *St. Jago de la Vega* or *Spanish Town*; as contrariwise the Land Wind blows harder at the Town than at *Passage-Fort* or *Port-Royal*.

As the Trade Wind between the Tropicks comes not directly from the East, but varies from North-East to South-East, according to the Place and Position of the Sun, so the *Sea Breeze* has the like Variation, not coming always from the same Point; on the contrary, the Land Winds or Breezes come always from the Ridge of Hills, and from the same Point of them, and this holds both on the North and South Sides of this Island. In Vallies amongst the Mountains, the *Sea Breeze* or *Land Breeze* has seldom any great Influence, but the North Winds very much prostrating great Trees.

The Land Wind blowing at Night, and the Sea Breeze in the Day-time, no Shipping can come into Port except in the Day, nor go out but soon after Break of Day.

The Norths come in when the Sun is near the Tropic of *Capricorn*, and so farthest

theft off Southerly. This North is a very cold and unhealthy Wind; it is more violent in the Night, because it then has the additional Force of the Land Wind with it. It checks the Growth of Canes and all Vegetables on the North Side of the Island, but is hinder'd by the Ridge of Mountains from shewing much of its Fury on the South where it seldom reigns with this Wind.

The South Winds bring the most lasting Rains or Seasons: No Rains from the Land are lasting on the South Side of the Island. As at Sea in the Trade Winds one meets with Tornadoes, so at Land here sometimes will be a violent West, directly contrary to the Trade Wind; but this happens seldom, and is soon over.

The *Sea Breeze*, when it blows hard, is thought to hinder the Rain from coming to the Plains, it for the most part then raining on the Hills. On this Account 'tis that there are in the Mountains many Springs and Rivers, and few or none in the Plains; and this is likewise the Cause why there is never any want of Water in the Rivers coming from them through the Plains, and likewise that sometimes Rivers suffer very great Increase and Inundations in the Plains, when no Rain has fallen in the Places where such Inundations do appear.

Earth-



310 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

Earthquakes, as they are frequent in *Hispaniola*, where, not many Years since, they have thrown down the Town of *St. Domingo*, so they are too common here also. The Inhabitants expect one every Year, and some think they follow their great Rains. One of them happened on *Sunday* the 19th of *February*, 1688, about Eight in the Morning, and there was found in a Chamber, one Story high, the Cabinets and several other Moveables on the Floor to reel as if People had raised the very Foundation of the House. It came by Shocks; there were three of them, with a little Pause between: It lasted about a Minute in all, and there was a small Noise accompanied it: It was felt all over the Island about the same Time, some Houses being crack'd and very near ruin'd, and very few escaped some Injury. The People were in great Consternation, and the Ships in *Port-Royal* Harbour felt it. It was observed that the Ground rose like the Sea in Waves as the Earthquake passed along: But this was nothing to the Earthquake which happen'd at *Port-Royal*, in the Year 1692, when that Town was almost swallow'd up by one.

Thunder is here almost every Day in the Mountains with the Rains there, so that any Person in the Plains may hear it

as well as see the Rain. Lightning for the most part precedes Thunder in this Island as elsewhere; and if it be fair Weather, especially in the hottest Seasons, it lightens almost all the Night,, first in one part of the Sky or Horizon out of some Clouds, and then out of others opposite to them, as it were answering one another, as it often happens in the Summer in *England*, &c. and gives occasion to People of Fancy to foretell strange Wars, &c. when they please, making these Apparitions in the Air Soldiers in Battalia, &c.

Frost and Snow are never seen in this hot Climate, but sometimes Hail, and that very large, which comes with very great Norths, and reach with great Violence to the South Side, and throw down every thing before them.

The Dews here within Land are so great, that the Water drops from the Leaves of Trees in the Morning as if it had rained; but there are few if any Fogs in the Plains or sandy Places near the Sea.

The Rains here are very violent, and the Drops very large.

This Island is divided into fourteen Parishes or Precincts: They have very few Towns; the chief are, 1. *St. Jago de la Vega*, or *Spanish Town*. 2. *Kingston*. 3. *Port . Passage*; and, 4. That of *Port-Royal*. St.

312 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

*St. Jago de la Vega*, or *Spanish Town*, is pleasantly situated in a fine Plain upon the River *Cobre*, which falls into a Bay of the Sea that forms the Harbour of *Port-Royal*, about seven Miles below. It consists of eight hundred or a thousand Houses, and is the Capital of the Island; for here the Governor resides, and the General Assembly and Courts of Justice are held: This was the Capital of the Island also when in Possession of the *Spaniards*; and then 'twas much larger and more magnificent than at present, containing, as 'tis said, two thousand Houses, besides several fine Churches and Monasteries, which were laid in Ashes by the Soldiers when it was taken by the *English*.

*Kingston* in the *Liguinee*, is a Port Town situated on the North Side of the Bay of *Port-Royal*, ten or twelve Miles South-East of *St. Jago*; and, since the repeated Misfortune of the Town of *Port-Royal*, is become a large and populous Place, much frequented by Merchants and Sea-faring Men.

*Port-Passage* is a Sea-port Town, situated at the Mouth of the River *Cobre*, seven Miles South-East of *St. Jago*, and obtained its Name from being the greatest Thoroughfare in the Island, at least between *Port-Royal* and the City of *St. Jago de la Vega*. The

The Town is not large, but chiefly consists of Houses of Entertainment; and being a considerable Pass has a Fort erected for its Defence.

*Port-Royal*, before it was destroy'd by an Earthquake, in the Year 1692, is thus described:

It was situated in the South-East Part of the Island, at the Extremity of a long Slip or Point of Land, running Westerly about twelve Miles from the Main Island, having the Ocean on the South, and a fine Bay of the Sea, which forms the Harbour, on the North, well defended by several Forts and Platforms of Guns. The Harbour is about three Leagues broad in most Places, and so deep, that a Ship of 700 Tons may lay her Side to the Shore, and load and unload at pleasure, nor does there want good Anchorage in any Part of it.

The Point of Land on which the Town stood was exceeding narrow, and nothing but a loose Sand that afforded neither Grass, Stones, fresh Water, Trees, or any thing that could encourage the building a Town upon it, but the Goodness and Security of the Harbour.

It contained about 1500 Houses, and was so populous, and so much frequented by Merchants and Planters, that even Houses



Houses were as dear rented as in the well-traded Streets in London.

*This was the Condition of Port-Royal when Mr. Blome wrote, in the Year 1688.* But this unfortunate Town has been almost totally destroy'd three Times in our Memory: *First*, In the Year 1692 by an Earthquake. *Secondly*, In the Year 1702 by a Fire; and, *Thirdly*, In the Year 1722 by a violent Storm and Inundation of the Sea.

It was on the 7th of *June*, 1692, the Earthquake happen'd, which in two Minutes destroy'd most Part of the Town: The Earth opened and swallowed up abundance of Houses and People; the Water gushed out from the Openings of the Earth and tumbled the People on Heaps, but some of them had the good Fortune to catch hold of Beams and Rafters of Houses, and were afterwards saved by Boats. Several Ships were cast away in the Harbour, and the *Swan* Frigate, which lay in the Dock to careen, was carried over the Tops of the sinking Houses, and did not however overset, but afforded a Retreat to some Hundreds of People, who saved their Lives upon her. The Earthquake was general all over the Island, and the Noise in the Mountains so terrible, that many of the fugitive Slaves that had run away thither returned

returned to their Masters. Two Mountains which lay between *St. Jago* and *Sixteen-Mile-Walk* joined together, and stopped the Current of the River, so that it overflowed several Woods and Savannahs. The Houses were in general thrown down or damaged all over the Island, and it was computed that 3000 People were killed with those that were lost in *Port-Royal*.

The Town being re-built near the Place where the former stood, was a second time destroy'd by Fire on the 9th of *January*, 1702-3. Every House was consumed that Day, only the two Royal Forts and Magazines were left standing. Whereupon the Government, looking upon the Place as unfortunate, order'd the Inhabitants to remove to *Kingston*, on the opposite Side of the Harbour, and there Courts and Offices were order'd to be held that used to be held at *Port-Royal*. However, this was found to be so commodious a Station for Shipping, that the People some time afterwards ventured to re-build it a second Time.

It was a third Time destroy'd by a Storm and Inundation of the Sea, on the 28th of *August*, 1722, the terrible Consequences of which were almost beyond the Power of Words to relate, or human Reason to conceive.

### 316 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

The Sea being raised by the Violence of the Wind to a much greater Height than ever was known before, broke over its ancient Bounds, and over-flow'd a large Tract of Land, carrying away, with irresistible Fury, Men, Horses, Cattle, and every thing that stood in its Way; and in this Calamity the unfortunate Town of *Port-Royal* had its full Share.

The Town of *Kingston* also receiv'd great Damage, abundance of Houses being blown there, and many more shatter'd and uncover'd: Abundance of very rich Goods were spoiled by the Rain which fell at the same Time, and some People were kill'd. And of all the Vessels which rode in *Kingston* Harbour, which were between 40 and 50 Sail, they were either driven on shore, or overfet and sunk, Abundance of Seamen lost, and some large Ships with all their Loading were thrown upon dry Land.

I cannot help observing here, that the Harbour of *Port-Royal* may well be looked upon as the Grave of our Marine Officers and Scamen, many Thousands having perish'd here by the Unhealthiness of the Place, or their own irregular Way of Life, in a Climate so different from that of their native Country. And it must be admitted, that let a Man be never so careful of his Health here, both the Air and the Water are

are so bad near the Coast, that these alone are sufficient to destroy his Health: But, as I understand Dr. *Sloane*, both the Water and Air are good at a Distance from the Shores; and the Inland Country of *Jamaica* is as healthful as any other; but hinder Sea-faring People, who belong either to Men of War or Merchant-men seldom come; their Business obliges them to remain on board in that fatal Bay, or at the Port-Towns bordering upon it, which are not much better.

The Buildings of the *Spaniards* in this Island were of Timber, seldom more than one Story high, and they fixed the principal Posts deep in the Ground, to prevent their being shook in pieces by Earthquakes. On the contrary, the *English* build with Brick, and frequently pretty high, as in *England*, which has sometimes proved fatal to them; neither are these Brick Houses so cool as most of the *Spaniards* were: Their Kitchens are always at a Distance from the House, on account of the Heats and Smells occasion'd by the Cookery; and they have no Chimnies or Fire-places in their Dwelling-Houses. The Houses of the great Planters also are at a Distance from their Sugar-works, to avoid the disagreeable Smells: And the Negroes Houses stand at a Distance from their Masters, being only long



318 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

long thatch'd Huts, furnished with Mats to lie on, earthen Pots to dress their Food, and some Calabashes, which serve them for Pails, Bowls, and Dishes.

The Inhabitants are either *English*, or of *English* Extraction born in the Island, *Indians*, *Negroes*, *Mulatto's* or *Mestize*, or the Descendants of these.

The *English*, and those of *English* Extraction, may be Fifty Thousand; the *Indians* are but few, all the Natives having been destroy'd by the *Spaniards*, and only some remaining they imported afterwards for Slaves, and some few the *English* have brought hither; the rest, *viz. Negroes*, *Mulatto's*, *Mestize*, and their Descendants, may amount to an hundred and fifty thousand, or thereabouts.

The *English* here follow the Fashions of their Mother Country in their Habits, making no Allowance for the Difference of Climate; which Sir *Hans Sloane* reproves them for. As to their Slaves, they work naked, except a Piece of Linnen Cloth about their Loins, but have a little Canvas Jacket and Breeches given them by their Masters annually at *Christmas* to wear on Holy-days.

*Jamaica* is a Royal Government. The King appoints both the Governor and Council. Their Assembly of Representatives has nothing

nothing to do in the Election of these, as they have in the Charter Governments; and this Island is look'd upon as the most profitable Government in the Disposal of the Crown of *England*, next to that of *Ireland*. There have been Governors who have made seven or eight thousand Pounds a-Year by their Salary and Perquisites ordinary and extraordinary, if not more.

Their Laws are much the same as those in the Colonies on the Continent; both the one and the other have Recourse to Tortures in the Punishment of their Slaves: These are not treated as Subjects of *Great Britain*, but as if they were Creatures of a different Species, such exquisite Torments are inflicted on them (according to Sir *Hans Sleane*) as must raise the utmost Horror and Detestation of the Practice in *Englishmen*, who have not lost all Humanity and Compassion for their Fellow-Creatures. The same Gentleman proceeds to relate, that for Rebellion they lay the Offender on the Ground, and having extended his Arms and Legs fasten them to the Earth, and then applying Fire gradually to his Hands and Feet burn them up to his Head, whereby he suffers the most exquisite Pain.

For Crimes of a less Nature they geld the Offender, and cut off half his Foot with an Ax; and for Negligence only they whip him;

320 OLD ENGLAND for Ever; or,

him; and when his Back is raw, they strew Pepper or Salt on their Wounds to make them smart; and some Planters will drop melted Wax on their Skins, which putteth to most intolerable Pain.

And these Cruelties the Doctor seems to justify, by telling us the *Blacks* are a perverse Generation, and merit such Torments. Thus we find the late Czar of *Muscovy* also justifying the barbarous Usage of his own Subjects, from the Obstinacy of their Tempers. And we have known *English* Officers affirming the like of their Soldiers, and treating even Subjects of *Great Britain*, over whom they had no Authority, with equal Cruelty.

We cannot wonder, after this barbarous Treatment of their Bodies, the Planters have so little Concern for the Souls of these poor Creatures, as to neglect the instructing them in the Christian Religion; or, that their Negroes have so little Inclination to embrace the Religion of a People who use them so barbarously.

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